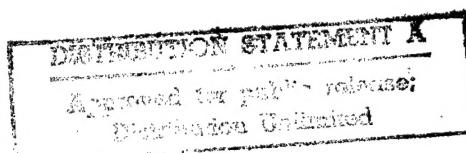


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3 February 1984



East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 February 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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GDR SEEN TRYING TO STOP ESCAPES THROUGH HUNGARY

Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Oct 83 p 10

/Article by Werner Kahl, Bonn: "Will the GDR Close the Hungarian Loophole? Secret Service Wants To Prevent Escape to the West"/

/Text/ There are rumors among the "GDR's" population that the government in East Berlin, under pressure from the Secret Service, intends to "close off" Hungary for travel and vacations. Such rumors are apparently based on stricter bureaucratic and security-policy restrictions on private travel.

According to current reports in Bonn, the "GDR" Secret Service considers Hungary the "last loophole" for escape through Austria and Yugoslavia into the FRG. The State Security Service also allegedly fears the increasing danger of "GDR" residents being infected by the relatively liberal conditions in the Danubian socialist state.

Many applicants for travel permits to Hungary since the spring have been notified of approval or refusal only right before their trips are to begin. The authorities have thus made it difficult for arrangements to be made with friends and relatives in the FRG and the West. Travel permits have recently been granted mainly to party members who have distinguished themselves with flawless references from official representatives or party-management in enterprises.

Since Poland has already been ruled out as a destination for vacations and weekend trips, only Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria presently remain open to East German tourists. Eastern Bloc diplomats have also reported that the "GDR" State Security Service is having the FRG's diplomatic representation watched more closely by Hungarian colleagues in the meantime. "GDR" visitors to the FRG Embassy are wary of the listening devices of the MfS /Ministry for State Security/ and therefore no longer make their requests verbally, but submit them instead in writing.

The reports of such petitioners reveal that popular travel to Budapest and the Puszta is further hampered by monetary restrictions. East German travelers to Hungary receive--at most for 2 weeks--forints for 30 East German marks per day, even if their vacations are to last 4 weeks. All expenses must be paid out of this exchange, which converts into about 140 /Deutsche/ marks.

These restrictions are intended to induce tourists from the "GDR" to join a travel group, which allows little freedom. If anyone leaves such a group for even a short time, he is rebuked by everyone. Exchanging marks for forints on the black market is punished by an immediate return trip home. But individualists are finding more and more ways to make individual trips. Many stay overnight in private homes. But campers must apply for space 6 months before the start of their trip, even if no decision has yet been made concerning their visa application.

Attempts by "GDR" tourists to obtain help from West German diplomats for escaping to the FRG are useless. Even requests for a travel permit from the FRG cannot be granted. And anyone arrested as a fugitive is also extradited to the "GDR."

Four "GDR" residents have tried to obtain asylum in Bonn's embassy in Budapest this year--in the hope that the German Federal Government would "buy their freedom" as political refugees. Convinced of the hopelessness of their petitions, however, they finally left the embassy building voluntarily.

Some East Germans have even gotten married in Hungary in order to get to the West in a roundabout way through the /civil-status/ registry office. But German authorities warn against having false hopes, since the Hungarian Government is under no obligation to reunite families. The only exception is when the married couple has relatives one-removed in the FRG. Thus only the adoption of Hungarian citizenship remains as a promising way to the West, for after 3 years have passed, it is possible to count on a travel visa to the West. However, the "GDR" must be repaid for educational expenses. By applying for renaturalization in the FRG, it is finally possible to regain German citizenship.

12580

CSO: 2300/115

GENERAL DISCUSSES ROLE OF ELECTRONICS IN MILITARY EQUIPMENT

Sofia VOENNA TEKNIKA in Bulgarian No 11, 1983 pp 3, 4

[Article by Engr-Lt Gen Ten'o Popov: "Electronics and the Operation of Weapons and Equipment"]

[Text] The 12th BCP Congress established a decisive policy of intensification in the national economy. One of the main areas for carrying this out has been the introduction of full production automation on the basis of electronic computer and particularly microprocessor equipment. Where conditions are not present for introducing full automation, there are plans to rapidly introduce full mechanization in order to decisively reduce the amount of employed manual labor.

The automated and mechanized production and control systems are based on electronic equipment the share of which has been constantly growing in quantitative and qualitative terms. For this reason the production of electronic and electronized products has been developing at an accelerated pace and these products are gaining exceptionally broad use in all areas and activities of material production and the service sphere.

Automation and mechanization on the basis of the most modern achievements in the electronics area are assuming ever-greater importance in carrying out the tasks of developing, employing, servicing, repairing and protecting the weapons and equipment in the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army]. All of this is determined by the fact that automated systems are being introduced most rapidly into military equipment and these systems are based predominantly on electronics. Automatic control and monitoring systems, electronic and electronic computer devices and machines have been introduced into all types of modern weapons and equipment. Microprocessor, laser and infrared equipment is gaining ever-broader use.

On the basis of the most recent achievements in electronics, the combat equipment and crews are being provided with automatic systems for defense of weapons of mass destruction and these systems make it possible to successfully conduct combat operations both under the conditions of radioactive contamination of the environment as well as for the automatic extinguishing of eventually arising fires. Effective systems have been introduced for the warning and counteracting of laser radiation. There has been a significant improvement in the quality

indicators of the communications equipment employed in combat vehicles and its capabilities have been broadened.

The capabilities of hydraulics, pneumatics, electronics, computer and laser equipment are being evermore successfully combined into a single weapons fire control system and due to this the effectiveness of the weaponry has been increased by many fold.

Automation and mechanization on the basis of electronic equipment are the present and future of modern training facilities. At present, the weapons and driving training for personnel would be impossible without the aid of electronic systems and devices which provide the rapid and permanent assimilation of the training questions and effective control over the actions of the crews and teams by obtaining the necessary feedback information.

Electronic and semiconductor elements are the predominant building blocks in trainers, program devices, electrified panels and working models at training ranges, firing ranges, labs and practical training rooms. There is a need for even wider introduction of electronics in developing new training and simulating facilities and for the electronization of the presently existing ones, in proceeding from the party's demand for across-the-board intensification, including in the training process.

Electronics is of crucial significance in solving the problem of automating and mechanizing the processes of servicing, repairing and protecting the weapons and equipment. Modern electronic and electronized instruments and attachments are essential for monitoring and tuning the parameters of various systems and units built into the weapons and equipment. Electronics has found a particularly wide application in diagnostic equipment employed in the repair subunits and the mobile repair facilities. On the basis of achievements in the electronics area, the capabilities of diagnostic equipment have been substantially increased and due to this technical diagnostics has become an inseparable part of the service and repair process for weapons and equipment.

Electronic systems and devices are gaining ever-broader use also in carrying out the main task of the combat readiness of weapons and equipment. With the aid of modern systems the process of warning, preparing and driving the equipment out of the parking areas can be controlled and the security and fire safety of the parking and dump territories can be improved.

And not lastly, electronic equipment is being employed in the mechanizing and automating of control processes for the logistic support of the troops. The most modern achievements of electronics are being introduced into the control process of logistic support both under stationary and field conditions. At present, the electronic calculator is the most common technical device available for each officer who works in the planning and control of logistic support.

Electronic installations and systems are being successfully experimented with and introduced for exchanging and processing operational information between technical bodies which are a long distance apart.

The great relative share and constantly growing significance of electronics in the weapons and equipment, in the training facilities, maintenance, repair and protection facilities pose a number of important problems for the commanders and technical services.

The basic, crucial question is the necessity of raising general technical knowledge in the area of electronics questions as a science and practice on behalf of all the personnel, with close correlation to the mastery of the design and operating principles of the electronic units, devices and systems which operate independently or together with other areas of technology in the weapons, the service and auxiliary equipment.

This requirement applies particularly to command personnel who are directly responsible for the weapons and equipment and who most determine their effective employment in combat. This applies equally to all the military training facilities who have the responsible task, even in the process of training the students, officer candidates and school children, of developing in their minds sound theoretical knowledge, an affection and interest in electronics as a science and its corresponding areas of practical application. Only under this condition can the great possibilities be employed which are offered by electronics for increasing the combat effect of modern weapons and equipment.

The command, engineer and technical personnel are confronted with the duty of promptly introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the electronics area for further improving the training processes and maintaining the weapons and equipment in constant technical order and combat readiness. There is a particularly acute need to develop new training facilities and improve the existing ones in accord with the requirements of the newly received weapons and equipment. By a decisive improvement in the technical indicators of the training facilities, the process of training the personnel will be improved and conditions will be created for a substantial savings in the motor life of expensive combat training equipment.

There must be constant work to improve the qualities and capabilities of diagnostic equipment and to create new models of electronic and electronized instruments and attachments essential for automating and mechanizing the processes of servicing, repairing and protecting the weapons and equipment. There must be a rapid improvement in the systems for controlling the bringing of weapons and equipment from the parking areas, in utilizing the most modern and dependable electronic and semiconductor elements. A sense of increased responsibility must be shown in the area of further automating control and logistic support on a basis of specialized electronic computers.

Special attention must be given to modernizing the presently-existing equipment for technical maintenance and repairs of weapons and equipment in order to substantially reduce the time they remain outside the combat fleet.

The complexity of the various systems in the weapons and equipment requires even more urgently that the inspections of technical condition by commanders and officials be made technically correctly using modern, electronically based instruments and devices.

The mass use of electronic devices in the control activities of the commanders and technical bodies raises the question of their maintenance, repair and safekeeping. An attitude must be developed toward this equipment considering it as the material and technical base which can perform its purpose only if it is well understood, correctly used and fully serviced. It is essential to constantly increase the skills of the engineer and technical personnel who are responsible for maintaining this equipment in constant readiness for use.

The electronization of military equipment, training facilities and equipment for maintenance, repairs and protection is an objective process which derives from the present-day scientific and technical achievements, while the problems arising as a result of this will be solved by the subjective factor, war. The better these problems are understood and promptly resolved the more effective will be the work of maintaining the weapons and equipment in constant technical working order and readiness for combat employment.

10272

CSO: 2200/63

U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT TECHNOLOGY ANALYZED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNKA in Bulgarian No 11, 1983 pp 9-11

[Article by Engr-Maj Svetlozar Asenov written from materials in the foreign press: "The Prospects of the Swept-Forward Wing"]

[Text] The concept of a swept-forward wing (SFW) is not new and its advantages over a wing with a normal sweepback (great available lift and better controllability at low speeds) have long been recognized. With a SFW, the breakdown of the flow begins at the wing root, while the wing-tip ailerons maintain their effectiveness.

The aerodynamic effectiveness of the wing is increased as a result of the better joining of the wing to the body, the more accurate use of the surfaces, the optimizing of the distribution of the pressure on the wing and forward horizontal stabilizer as a consequence of the good interference between them (the pressure distribution is close to an elliptic law which provides a minimum induced drag). The drawback of the SFW is its aerodynamic instability. With the flexure of such a wing under the effect of the aerodynamic loads, the angle of attack is increased and this can lead to divergence. With an increase in the angle of the wing's forward sweep, the instability becomes greater. In order to exclude divergence, a tighter and consequently heavier wing is required.

Until recently the advantages of the SFW have been considered insignificant. The heavy weight which is particularly important for fighters (where the weight limitations are very strict) was one of the basic obstacles on the path to realizing a SFW airplane. It was felt that the use of composition materials in building the wing would make it possible to avoid the divergence. By the appropriate choice in the direction of the fibers and the thickness of the layers in the composition materials forming the skin of the wing could change the position of the torsion axis and consequently the wing torsion under the effect of the load which would lead to satisfying the aerodynamic and strength requirements. This would reduce the weight of the SFW and correspondingly the entire aircraft.

A swept-forward wing has the following aerodynamic advantages in comparison with an ordinary sweepback wing. The lift of a wing with an ordinary sweepback as a rule is limited by the wing-tip flow separation. Due to the wing's tapering and the effect of vortices, the outer sections of the wing are more stressed

than the inner ones. Flow separation starts sooner at the wing tip and this makes it impossible to use large angles of attack. With a SFW, the flow over the tip of the wing is without a flow separation and here with angles of attack which significantly exceed the angles of attack at which flow separation begins on the inner sections of the wing. Hence, the lift qualities of the wing are better utilized.

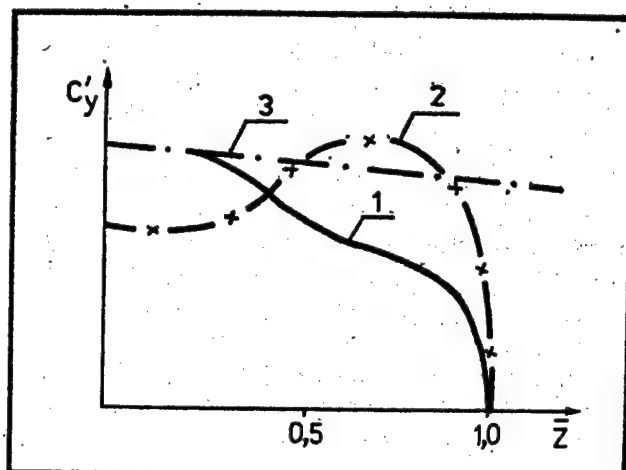


Fig. 1

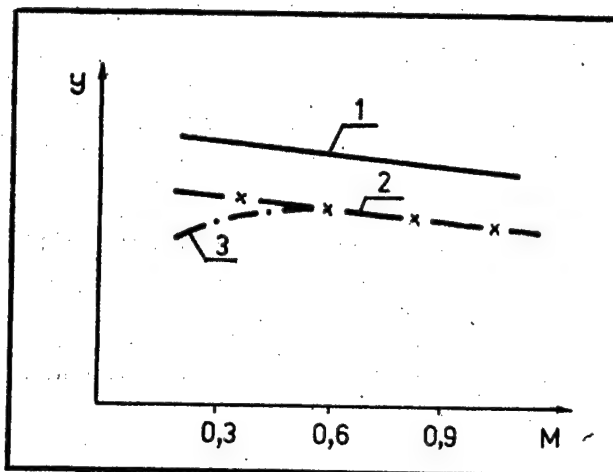


Fig. 2

- 1--Swept-forward wing
- 2--Wing with normal sweepback
- 3--Wing with normal sweepback

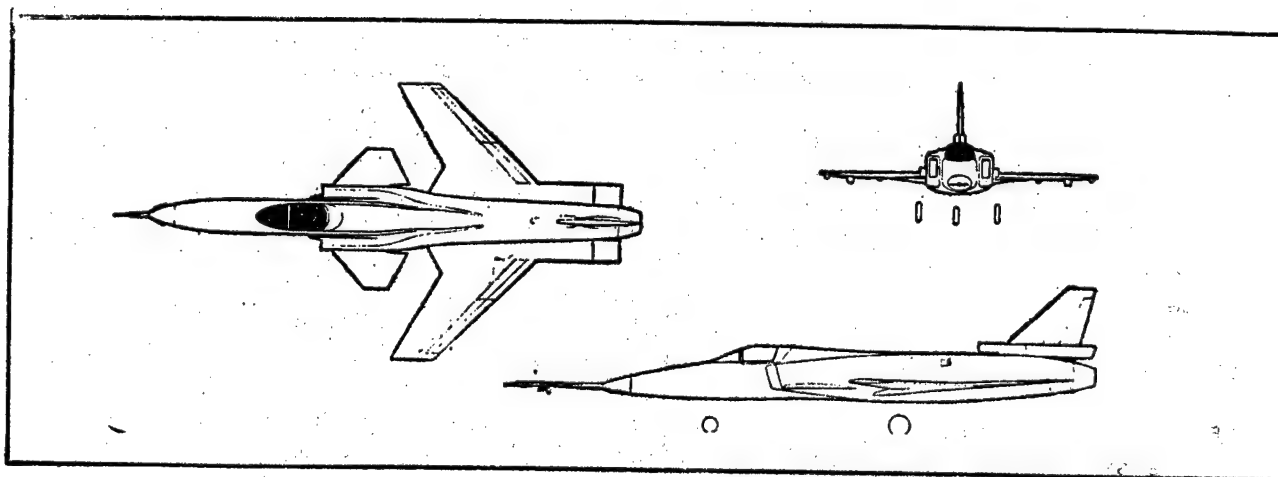


Fig. 3

Fig. 1 shows the law for the change in the local lift coefficients C_y' according to the wing span (where $z = 2z/l$; l --wing span; z --coordinate axis).

For a swept-forward wing, the nature of the dependence is shown by line 1 and for a wing with normal sweepback by line 2. Line 3 represents the limitation for flow separation.

From Fig. 1 one can clearly see that for a wing with a normal sweepback, flow separation begins at the tip while for a SFW a flow-over is maintained without flow separation.

Fig. 2 shows the change in the available lift Y depending upon the speed of flight for a SFW and a wing with a normal sweepback. The graph clearly confirms the advantages of the SFW.

The lift of the SFW is not only greater in amount but is also characterized by a better distribution of the span. For airplanes with a conventional sweepback, there must be an elliptic distribution of the stress over the wing span under cruise conditions, because in these instances the induced drag is minimal. With large angles of attack, the stress increases sharply at the wing tip as does the induced drag. The SFW has a better distribution of stress with maximum lift and hence a greater aerodynamic quality in maneuvering the aircraft under a great stress. At slower speeds the SFW also has advantages expressed in the maintaining of aileron efficiency even with flow separation over a large portion of the surface.

The modern designs of the SFW are characterized by the forward position of the horizontal stabilizer. Research has shown that the choice of such a design whereby the horizontal stabilizer is positioned close ahead of the wing provides good interference between them. At a low speed, the forward horizontal stabilizer compensates for the pitching moments which are created by the control surfaces and the high-lift devices. In addition the close positioning of the flaps and ailerons to the airplane's center of gravity (in contrast to aircraft with a normal sweepback) reduces the stretch of applying of aerodynamic forces and contributes to the better balancing of the aircraft.

The airplane's drag at speeds greater than those of sound depends upon the distribution of the cross-sections in relation to the plane's length. A smooth succession of cross-sections from the nose to the tail weakens the action of the wave effects and it is easier to achieve a smooth distribution of the cross-section areas with a SFW. In these instances the inner volumes are concentrated closer to the center of gravity and this, in turn, makes it possible to position the loads (fuel, equipment and so forth) close to the center of gravity. This excludes the use of balancing loads.

If an increase in the critical flutter speed is provided and a simplified active system for controlling the aerodynamic stresses is employed, it is possible to develop an aircraft analogous in size and weight to the F-16 fighter but with higher performance, or an aircraft with the performance of the F-16 fighter but with a lower weight and smaller size. In line with this, out of aerodynamic considerations, a SFW will not be used for speeds greater than $M_{1.6-2.0}$. The tendency for flow separation in the wing root may also cause problems involving an increase in wing torque. But the questions related to flow separation can be solved by providing a forward horizontal stabilizer, vortex generators and wing extensions.

It is felt that the greatest efficiency of the SFW is achieved on high-performance fighters which are employed at transonic speeds. However, one of the problems which does not make it possible to choose large negative sweep angles is the increase in drag at supersonic speeds.

In actual terms, a swept-forward wing has been used very rarely. There is an experimental model of the Junkers JU-287 dating from the time of the Second World War, the HFB-300 Hansa executive plane (built in 1963) and the RFB Fentrainer which uses a SFW.

The leading organization in developing a SFW in the United States is the DARPA agency the tasks of which include research on technical innovations with a great potential and a certain technical risk. Under contract with the Defense Department, three firms--General Dynamics, Grumman and Rockwell International--in 1977 began research on developing a SFW airplane. The latest achievements in studying the SFW provided an opportunity in 1981 to conclude a contract for the detailed designing of a manned demonstration airplane for flight testing.

According to information from the Grumman firm, a SFW can fundamentally alter the appearance of the new-generation military aircraft and provide the possibility of developing a light, highly maneuverable plane. The maximum take-off weight of this aircraft ultimately will be approximately 3,000 kg less than that of fighters of the F-16 type. The Grumman firm is continuing to develop the demonstration aircraft X-29A (see Fig. 3) with a SFW, in accord with a contract concluded with the Defense Department. The X-29A aircraft with a weight of 7.3 tons and a single General Electric F-404 turbojet engine with a thrust of 7,000 kg will have high flight performance close to the performance of the F-16 aircraft. The aircraft has a wing with a forward-sweep angle of 30°, a thin supercritical profile and made from nonmetallic graphite-epoxy composition materials. The X-29A will be statically unstable, it will have a digital remote electronic flight control system, a planar nozzle, radio-absorbing materials and an active camouflage surface which changes depending upon the intensity of the light. For reducing the cost of the program, the front of the body of the F-5 aircraft will be employed. The firm intends to complete construction of the first aircraft in September 1983 and the first flight will be made in December of the same year.

In the opinion of the Grumman firm, the SFW aircraft in the future will become a large portion of the fighter fleet in the U.S. Air Force. The General Dynamics firm, in the aim of economy, has proposed flight testing for an experimental fighter, the IF-16 with a SFW. If the SFW program reaches the phase of building the airplane and if the testing is successful, in the second half of the 1980's mass production of the new, light fighter will commence. The Rockwell International firm, for example, plans to build the next generation fighters which will be planes to repel the air attacks of a potential enemy. The small size of this plane ensures its invulnerability while its low price makes it possible to purchase larger numbers of it.

In the opinion of Rockwell International, in the near future the U.S. Air Force will need the new light fighter. NATO representatives have pointed out that they are beginning to feel a shortage of fighters for air combat. In the past,

the development programs for a light fighter did not provide an inexpensive fighter.

In using the SFW, Rockwell International has pointed out that it is possible to reduce the maximum flight weight of the airplane by 20 percent. The reduced size of the plane will lead to a limiting of the radar antenna diameter and the size of the cockpit. The firm feels that the development of such an airplane will be possible on the basis of using modern radio electronic equipment, engines and structural elements of composition materials. In 1982, the DARPA envisaged 21.5 billion dollars for the development of the SFW.

10272

CSO: 2200/63

SOCIOLOGIST DEFINES POWER, QUOTES SOVIET REFORMER BUTENKO

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 12, Nov 83 pp 68-78

[Article by Dr Karol Ondris, member of the Institute of State and Law, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "The Concept of Power During the Stage of Building a Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] The concept of power is among the key concepts in Marxist-Leninist theory. Intimately related to the concept of power are such serious problems as, for example, its substance or nominal nature, the rights and duties of citizens and their position in state and society, etc. It is no wonder that the question of power, its nature and class origin, social functions, structure, and the methods and instruments for its realization is one concept which occupies a key place in the present ideological struggle.

In their ideological-theoretical legacy the founders of Marxism-Leninism relieved the concept of power of the often mystical veil with which it had been shrouded by various bourgeois and revisionist theories. The classics of Marxism-Leninism investigated the problem of power consistently on the basis of the materialistic understanding of history. Power in Marxist-Leninist theory ceases to be an abstract idea separated from concrete relationships and investigated independently from class, economic and other social relations and conditions. In a class society, the question of power must be formulated in a concrete form, in harmony with the real disposition of the class forces in society.

Briefly stated, power in the Marxist-Leninist understanding represents a free relationship among the people, i.e., in a class society it is a relationship primarily among the classes determined by the socioeconomic base of society. Power as a social relationship of a special type makes it possible for the wielder of power to influence, with the help of a special system of instruments and methods (state, law, ideology, force, etc.), the activity of the people in accordance with his will.

In the building of a developed socialist society in the Soviet Union and the advent of many socialist countries upon the stage of building developed socialism, a number of questions and problems appeared, the correct solution of which based on Marxism-Leninism is a prerequisite for further successful development. The implementation of the general policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party calling for building a developed socialist society in our country has brought

to the fore questions that we have not faced in the past. When answering these questions we can and must fall back on the rich experience of the Soviet people spelled out in the documents of the CPSU. We can base our point of departure on the successes of Soviet science, which ahead of time and on the basis of a consistent Marxist-Leninist approach has clarified the problems of transition toward developed socialism. Stimulating also are the multifaceted experiences which the fraternal socialist countries have had with the application of general laws for the development of socialism under new conditions of seeking ways and approaches leading to developed socialism.

One of the serious questions of the gradual maturing of developed socialism involves the nature of power during the stage of building a developed socialist society. The gradual transformation of the social background of the classes and groups in a socialist society is reflected in the changing picture of political power. At the same time, there is a need to increase the scope of participation of the working people in the creative and conscious realization of inevitable social changes. "If this does not happen because of this or that reason, then comes the time for unavoidable changes in the tempo of socialist construction to be followed by a sharp reduction in the rate of social progress. For these reasons the political organization of the society of victorious socialism through its virtue as well as the structure and forms it uses and the forms of its activities must reflect social and class changes and must stimulate the increasing sociopolitical activity of the inevitably growing mass of the working people who try to make socialism more perfect and see to it that it evolves into communism."*

Marxist-Leninist theory has scientifically proved and the practical experience of the world revolutionary movement has confirmed that in a society divided into antagonistic classes power as far as the class structure is concerned means a dictatorship of the ruling class. As far as the dominant power--state power--is concerned each state in a society divided into antagonistic classes represents the dictatorship of the ruling class.

The conclusion concerning the concept of power, i.e., in the first place state power as a dictatorship of the ruling class or the ruling classes, is generally valid in societies divided into antagonistic classes. The forms through which power is realized or, to put it differently, the forms of the realization of class dictatorship, can vary. This could be graphically illustrated by the history of the exploiting socioeconomic formations. Especially the last of these formations, namely, the capitalist formation, is characterized by a broad scale of forms of bourgeois dictatorship--beginning with bourgeois democratic forms and ending with openly fascist forms of class oppression of the working people. In spite of a broad scale of forms through which the bourgeoisie realizes its power, the essence of this power as a bourgeois dictatorship remains. This fully applies even to the most democratic bourgeois republic, which always remains a dictatorship of the ruling class or of those groups which are a part of the social support of bourgeois power. As far as the working

*Butenko, A. "All-People's Political Power; Essence, Structure, Method of Civilization," SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE USSR, 1982, No 6, pp 547-548.

people and the exploited masses are concerned, this system is democratic only insofar as the ruling group is not threatened by even this limited bourgeois democracy. The most democratic form of bourgeois democracy is and remains a democracy only for the minority of society. For the majority of society it is and remains for better or worse a disguised form of dictatorship by a minority.

The revolutionary working class is not and cannot be indifferent to the conditions under which it carries out its struggle for liberation and the liberation of all working people in a bourgeois society. This is true regardless of whether we are talking about the conditions of an undisguised class dictatorship by the bourgeoisie or the bourgeois democratic conditions which offer much better and broader possibilities for class self-consciousness and organization of the forces of the working class and other working people and for the association of the latter with the working class. Hence--among other things--under the conditions of imperialism, when the bourgeoisie betrays its own ideals and slogans which it used in the past to win power, it is the working class, fighting to preserve bourgeois democracy and to change it into a socialist democracy, which can be called the only democratic force.

The working class which, as a consequence of the victory of socialist revolution, becomes the ruling class realizes this from the very start of its coming to power on the basis of class unity and cooperation with the masses of the working people--in the first place, the peasants. This union is in the final analysis a prerequisite for the victory of a socialist revolution, and the revolutionary victory creates prerequisites for its broadening and strengthening. The power of the working class and its dictatorship realized on the basis of class unity is basically a broad democracy for the masses of the working people with the help of whom the working class realizes its power. The dictatorship of the working class and democracy are inseparable. From this vantage point the differences among the individual forms of a dictatorship of the proletariat are differences not in the degree or the scope of democracy but primarily in the form in which democracy is being realized and affected by the specificity of the historical approaches and paths to socialism.

The power of the working class can be called a dictatorship insofar as it does not permit any application, efforts, or realization of the interests of defeated exploiters and, at the same time, during the long-term process when the peasantry gradually and voluntarily accepts the path of large-scale socialist production and becomes a socialist force of those petit-bourgeois interests which are related to private ownership. This does not mean--and the historical experience of our country has confirmed this--that the defeated exploiters had to be necessarily expelled from participating in the political process, disenfranchised, etc. Basically, one can state that the degree and scope of democracy for these groups and individuals are directly related to their class resistance to socialist changes. The unavoidable limitation of democracy for the former exploiters only means the creation of legal, political, economic, and other preventions and obstacles which will make it impossible for them to attempt to restore their "paradise lost" by either open or disguised counterrevolution.

From the basic class difference between a dictatorship of the proletariat and a bourgeois dictatorship stems a difference not only in the degree and scope of

democracy as a democracy for the overwhelming majority of society, but also in the forms and institutions which make it possible for the working people to make full use of democracy. V. I. Lenin, when explaining the first experience of Soviet power, expressed this difference as follows: "...the dictatorship of the proletariat must unavoidably bring about not only--generally stated -- changes in the forms and institutions, but primarily those changes which will cause a hitherto unprecedented expansion of the real use of democracy for those who are being suppressed by capitalism, namely, for the working class."

The scientific prognosts of V. I. Lenin have been fully confirmed by the history of the first socialist country whose people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, carried out a historical transformation from a socialist democracy toward an all-people's democracy. They have also been fully confirmed by the experience of the fraternal socialist countries as well as by our own experience. From the initiative and under the leadership of the CPCZ we carried out and are still carrying out many measures for further improving the work of the national committees which make possible a broader democratic participation of the working people in their labors, in the administration and management of the socialist state. We can see an improvement in the work of the National Front, which through its broad network of associated social and interest organizations makes possible through nongovernmental forms and ways popular participation in the administration and management of our socialist society and state. We can see a growing role of the working collectives, which as one of the basic nuclei in the life of our society have an important role and mission in developing and directing the activities of the working people, especially in meeting production goals. The general direction for building a developed socialist society, which was elaborated in detail at the 16th CPCZ Congress to suit present conditions, is a dialectical linkage between the development of socialist democracy and the solution of production, economic and other tasks. The development of socialist democracy is not an end in itself but among other things a means for strengthening the unity of the socialist society and directing the political, work and other activity of the working people leading to the solution of tasks of further improvement of the sociopolitical and economic life of society.

The fact that in a society which is divided into classes the power is a class phenomenon does not deny the class character of this basic phenomenon. The ideological-theoretical legacy of V. I. Lenin is based on the overall understanding of power because it is realized in all basic spheres of social life--economic, social, political and ideological-spiritual.

The understanding of power as a phenomenon with a class content which is unified and inseparable offers a point of departure for the Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the so-called pluralistic theories of power. The theoretical construct of the existence of a larger or smaller number of centers of power is a fiction to deceive the working people. The external manifestations of the realization of power by individual groups of the bourgeoisie or the fact that power is being exercised in individual spheres of life of the society or by different organs, institutions, etc., often leads to a false and incorrect conclusion whose purpose is to disguise the real power of the bourgeoisie as a class.

The application of the so-called pluralistic theories under conditions of a socialist society--as happened in our country during the crisis years--is not and cannot be anything but a conscious deception of the society and a refined disguise to conceal the real goals of the rightwing opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces. A theoretical point of departure which has been fully verified by our people under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party relates to the conclusions in the lessons from crisis development in the party and society in the period following the 13th CPCZ Congress. "The process of developing a socialist revolution follows under conditions of the existence of the world socialist system its own objective laws and binding criteria which, while respecting national characteristics, determine the character of the socialist power and condition the systematic revolutionary development of social progress. Any violation of these laws causes serious harm to socialism. And the outright denial or rejection of these laws is basically an antisocialist and counterrevolutionary activity."

It was already stated that the questions of power are a subject of a fierce ideological struggle. Against the Marxist-Leninist concept of power the bourgeois and revisionist ideologues put forward their own concept, which usually aims at two goals. The first goal is to hide and obscure the real class basis of bourgeois power and to present the problem in such a way as to distract the attention of the working people from the essence of the problem and to channel the social and other discontent of working people into areas where bourgeois rule will not be threatened.

The other goal is to falsify and deform the class content of power in Marxist-Leninist theory and in the practice of real socialism. The entire history of socialism and of the power which originated as a result of socialist revolution is interpreted falsely and in a distorted way. Our class enemies tried and are still trying to apply the conclusion concerning the nature of power as the dictatorship of the ruling class only to the conditions of the power of the working class, which as the only one in the history of the human race was and still is able to express the class essence of its power as a dictatorship openly against everything reactionary and bourgeois and as a democracy for the working people. The working class realizes its power consistently through proletarian and socialist democracy and later, under the conditions of a developed socialist society, through an all-people's democracy.

The most obvious tool for falsifying the scientific term of the dictatorship is the identification of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the way power is realized. More than 60 years ago V. I. Lenin, in his polemics with Kautsky, addressed those who did not understand and did not want to understand the following: "Dictatorship is not a 'form of government'; to say that is a ridiculous stupidity. Not even Marx speaks about the 'form of governing,' but about the form or type of a state. These two things are not at all the same, not at all."

The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries makes it possible for Marxist-Leninist theory to single out three basic stages at the present stage of development of socialist construction. The first stage is the period when the building of the foundations of socialism is realized. The second stage

is the period in which real socialism is built and the advantages of socialism are developed and expanded. Finally, the third stage witnesses the perfection of a developed socialist society into a base which will see the realization of the gradual transition to communism.

This division of the development of socialism into individual stages stems from a complex and multicriterial evaluation of the achieved level of development of a socialist society in the socioeconomic, political, spiritual and social respects. The character of this or that stage of development of socialism is based on the laws of development of socialism which objectively guide its development in a given stage.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party objectively re-evaluated the notions which appeared during the 1960's concerning a direct and speedy approach toward communism which ignored the unavoidable incremental stages in the development of socialism. Following the experiences of the CPSU which were theoretically generalized in the resolutions of its congresses and the evaluation of our own historical experience which are spelled out especially in the lesson from the crisis development in the party and society in the period following the 13th Congress, our Communist Party adopted at its 14th Congress a general policy of building developed socialism, which was further elaborated and concretized at the 15th and 16 Congresses.

The theoretical foundations of the party's policy are "... the Leninist ideas concerning the long-range character of the socialist phase in the development of our society. We are not talking about a short intermezzo but about an entire stage of development. Its main content is the maturing of the socialist social order, a consistent application of its laws, an effort toward a permanent development of the production forces based on the linkage of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, an ever-growing satisfaction of material and cultural needs, an improvement of international relations with the socialist community, an unprecedented development of socialist initiative, and a growth of social consciousness."

The stage of building a developed socialist society represents qualitatively a new level achieved in the development of the advantages of socialism and the utilization of its possibilities. A society building developed socialism could be briefly characterized as a society which basically discontinued those relations linking it to the preceding socioeconomic system. It is a society which starts to develop on its own, i.e., a socialist base.

During the period of building the bases of socialism the primary attention of the instruments of the working class and the working people, especially of the socialist state, was directed toward such building tasks. At the same time, it was necessary to right everything which had its origin in the past, which was alien and hostile to socialism. The creative work of socialist construction also required the destruction of everything linked to the past.

The building of a developed socialist society was realized under conditions which made possible the development of creative activities of the instruments of power of the working class. Creative in the sense of improving and expanding

what was already achieved and discarding everything that exhausted internal possibilities for further socialist development. Creative in the sense of searching for new means, ways and methods corresponding to the possibilities of the society which can and must be managed in a complex way with the use of those laws the society has at its disposal at a given stage of development. However, this does not mean what we are abandoning the need to fight against everything which is alien to socialism, such as exploitation, parasitism, etc.

The socialist state is the main political-power and economic instrument of the working class and the working people in building the foundations of socialism. It will remain such a main instrument even during the stage of building developed socialism. The newness and the growing complexity of tasks the society faces puts increased demands on all instruments of the socialist society. We see an increased role of the political system of socialism as a whole and within its framework of the National Front, involving social and interest organizations, and of the various forms of public, political and other activity, especially of the working collectives.

The changing conditions bring into life new laws which the building of developed socialism must objectively follow. These laws among others include a gradual and long-term transition of the dictatorship of the working class into a popular socialist state, the further development and expansion of socialist democracy. The maturing and strengthening of the elements of an all-people's socialist state is a natural process. It cannot be artificially accelerated. At the same time, however, it is not possible to ignore those possibilities created during the process of development, lest the rate of building developed socialism be slowed down.

The experience of the CPSU confirmed that the establishment of all-people's socialist state is not a result of the building of developed socialism but a process which takes place during the entire stage of building developed socialism. The state of the dictatorship of the working class and the state of all-people's socialism represent two stages in the development of a socialist state on the path toward communist social self-government.

The all-people's socialist state is an heir to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a continuator of its building work. The basic difference between the two rests in the transformation of the nature of power. Even the developed socialist society is a class society, but under conditions where the basic interests of classes and social groups are in the long run identical and where the laws of development guide these classes and social groups toward cooperation, and where the prospects of developed socialism anticipate a classless society. Thus, the class character of power under conditions of developed socialism takes upon itself a new form: it becomes an expression of will of friendly classes in a socialist society and their socialist unity.

The dictatorship of the working class changes into an all-people's state. However, the leading role of the working class in society remains intact and is further strengthened. "Cooperation among all classes and social groups, the teaching of the moral and political qualities of the Soviet people, the strengthening of its socialist unity...take place on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology expressing the socialist interests and the communist ideals of the working class."

The avant-garde party of the working class is transformed during the process of transition of the dictatorship of the proletariat into an all-people's power, into a party of all the people. We witness the growth of the role and significance of the party as a manifestation of objective laws on the way toward a future and higher stage of the communist socioeconomic formation.

The change of the class character of power has objective consequences for the change in the function of the socialist all-people's state. For example, the function of protecting society against the internal class enemy is discarded. The all-people's socialist state will, however, continue to protect the society and its socialist achievements against those individuals and groups who would prefer to live a parasitic life at the expense of the joint work of all the people. This stage will see the development of the other internal functions of a socialist state: economic-organizational, regulation of the extent of labor and consumption, cultural-educational, protection of socialist ownership, legal order, rights and freedoms of citizens.

The basic differences between the socialist and bourgeois states and the internationalist character of the socialist state lead to the basic difference of the external functions of the socialist state, such as the function of defense and the fulfillment of pledges in collective defense of the countries of the socialist community; the function of strengthening peace and securing peaceful coexistence among countries with different socioeconomic systems; the function of strengthening friendly cooperation of the countries of the socialist camp and rendering mutual assistance.

The expansion of the socioclass base of the state means further strengthening of the state. It creates prerequisites for the broadening of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism and its modification under the new conditions. The structure of the state apparatus as well as of all types of apparatus is strengthened. There appear new forms and methods of work of the complex management of society. Especially strengthened will be the role of the representative organs. There will be more opportunities for the growth of activity on the part of social organizations and we will witness the development of forms of direct democracy, etc.

In the governing and self-governing of a socialist society the political system of socialism is irreplaceable. It creates unavoidable political, organizational-institutional and other prerequisites for the conscious work of individual classes, social groups, nations and nationalities, working collectives and individuals in the development of society in accordance with those objective laws governing socialist construction. The nucleus of the political system and of state and social organizations--as is clearly stated in the new Soviet Constitution--is the Communist Party, which is the leading and directing force in society.

The program of building a developed socialist society is also a program of the gradual and long-range transformation of the power of the working class, a transformation of its dictatorship into the class power of all the people. Socialist democracy in which the working people participate in the administration and management of the society and state is a system characterized by the

realization of power carried out in the interest of the working people and with the broadest participation of the working people, which is transformed gradually into power enjoyed by the working people themselves, into the socialist self-government of the people.

The appearance of the all-people's elements of power under the conditions of the dictatorship of the working class cannot ignore the consequences for the entire political system. The socialist state is one of its most important components, but it is not the only one. Other components are the National Front and social and interest organizations involved in the National Front. The growing role of the socialist state, especially in the areas of linking the advantages of socialism with the results of scientific-technological progress, the growing demands on managing the socialist society as a unified complex, etc., increases the demands on the harmonious functioning of the political system, on the effective utilization of all its organizational-institutional parts, on mutual cooperation and meaningful working participation in the solution of common tasks.

The trend toward the growing tasks of all parts of the political system is a demanding and complex process. It is not a linear process. From the point of view of long-range prospects it is one of the manifestations of a tendency to bring the socialist state and socialist society closer together.

Under existing conditions in our country this process is concretely demonstrated by better cooperation and coordination of the activities of the socialist state and the National Front. Social and interest organizations as full-fledged and equal subjects of the political system fulfill in the specific spheres of their activities the tasks which are similar to the tasks of the socialist state. It suffices to remind the reader of their role in educating and formulating a socialistically thinking and acting citizenry, in the activities connected with the tasks of an accelerated application of the scientific-technological progress as a societywide movement, in the area of the struggle against antisocial activity and phenomena, crime, etc.

The development of the forms of direct democracy, while maintaining the dominant position of representative democracy, injects qualitatively new elements into the work of the entire political system. Social and interest organizations of the working people, working collectives and collectives of citizens in territorial districts, groups of citizens, etc., during the process of building developed socialism, and especially under the conditions of developed socialism, become the immediate subjects of management of a socialist society. The long-term character of this process does not diminish at all its significance and importance for the present when we are building its foundation. It is a process which is a denial of the one-sidedness caused by the voluntary approach toward the so-called transfer of functions, as was the case of the transfer of the tasks of the socialist state to social organizations in the 1960's.

The National Front in its very existence is a manifestation of a class and internationalist union of our working people, a union led by the working class and its Communist Party. The unity of the basic class interests in our society does not mean absolute unity or a unity without adversary features. The National Front and various social and interest organizations permit the

manifestations of both the class and internationalist unity of society and its diversity based on different interests. The organizations of the working people serve as a platform for satisfying these interests and at the same time for their conscious harmonizing with the interests of the entire society or for their subordination to societywide interests. As Comrade Y. V. Andropov stated: "After all, a notion of self-government which inclines toward anarcho-syndicalism, toward the polarization of society into mutual disconnected and competing associations, toward a democracy without discipline, toward understanding only rights but not duties, is naturally alien to us. Democratic centralism which makes it possible successfully to link unlimited initiative of the masses with the advantages of the union system of scientific management, planning, and administration is a tested principle for organizing the whole of life in a socialist society."

The programmatic role of our people--to build developed socialism in our country as an investment in the common, internationalist work of the world socialist system--is being carried out under complex international relations. The development of socialist democracy makes it possible for the political system to react flexibly to changing conditions and at the same time eliminate everything that can negatively affect socialist development. The continued growth of the leading role of the party is a basic prerequisite for further progress. The party directs in a planned and purposeful way the entire socialist development of our society, its political system, as well as its individual parts, while respecting the existing conditions and future needs. Toward this goal it also guides the process of applying and developing the power of the working class in cooperation with other working people.

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LEADERS SPEAK TO CPSL PLENUM

West Slovakia's Janak

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 83 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, leading secretary of the West Slovak Kraj Committee of the CPSL]

[Text] The Central Committee of the party is discussing serious questions which are closely dependent upon the implementation of the program of the 16th Congress. We estimate that in connection with the economic questions we are busy with the current international situation. The report of the Presidium of the Central Committee, given by Comrade Vasil Bilak, convincingly shows that in spite of the many peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, the international situation, through the fault of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, headed by the United States, has deteriorated significantly, and the danger of nuclear war has increased. This kind of development in the world is not a matter of indifference for our people. At peaceful meetings, meetings of working collectives in industry, in agriculture, in the schools, and other work positions, the working people demonstrate their resolve not to permit the aggressive forces to commit any kind of atomic blackmail of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. They express their agreement with the Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union, which comes from concrete proposals and deeds on how to prevent a catastrophic war. They support the stand of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on the agreement of our government with the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pursuant to the initiation of work on the development of operational-tactical missile complexes, in the interest of defending socialism. We are aware of how this was spoken about very clearly in the fact that we are involved with a dangerous enemy, headed by the United States, which operates with lies and demagogy, and hushes up and distorts the peaceful initiative and proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and the real truth about socialism as it is. Fighting against such an enemy is not and will not be easy. The meeting of the Central Committee shows us how to approach even more diligently and with greater initiative the improvement of political education work aimed at the intensification of the consciousness of the responsibility of our peoples for strengthening the defense of our country and of socialist society, progress, and peace. Even though the situation is complex, we look toward the future with optimism.

With the intensification of the influence of the party, with more effective control, and with the fact that we base ourselves on cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, we will succeed in the end in fulfilling our plan tasks. The dynamic growth of industrial production, which has grown by 8 percent in 3 years, continues. The greatest share in this belongs to the enterprises of the electrical engineering and machinery industries, and especially electric power. Better evaluations are being given to raw materials, producer goods, fuels, and electric power. Since the beginning of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the average consumption of fuels and electric power per unit of output is 9.15 percent lower, which represents a savings of 884,000 tons of coal. The nontraditional energy sources are being used more efficiently, and secondary materials and industrial wastes are showing improvement. An example is provided by the work force in Skloplasta Trnava, in which a program for the complex utilization of raw materials was worked out and is being provided for.

Their experiences are already being gradually implemented at Plastika in Nitra, at Slovenska Hodvaba in Senica, and at several other work organizations. Much has also been accomplished in the fulfillment of the deliveries of our enterprises and plants for the domestic market. The export assignments to socialist countries are being fulfilled and exceeded smoothly, and enterprises of the kraj have recorded a rise in the deliveries to non-socialist countries. The annual membership meetings and party conferences, at which we deliberately and critically evaluated what had been accomplished from the congress and determined progress, and how to increase the intensification of production and the quality of work further, contributed significantly to the achievement of these results. The development of the initiative of the workers has a not insignificant part to play in the successes that we have attained in the kraj. Sixty percent of the enterprises and plants have been joined into socialist competition and the movement for 1 day's extra production from saving, and every day we are fulfilling our production goals in the work forces. We have attained progress in the intensification of production, in its technical growth, in more effective use of material, natural, and financial resources. This creates a good foundation for the successful mastery of the urgent task of the plan in 1984. However, this necessitates that we in the kraj organization of the party conduct an energetic struggle against everything that reduces the level of our economy.

One of the factors that has unfavorable influence on our results is the losses from poor quality products. This year alone, it amounts to some 90 million korunas, and expenditures for claims of 80 million korunas. This is a reflection of deficiencies in the operation of the preprocessing stages and initial inspection, as well as a failure to adhere to technological and labor discipline. We are also concerned by the fact that some 71 percent of the products are of only average quality, which causes problems not only on the domestic market but on the foreign market as well. This likewise indicates that the influence of science on the increase of production quality and the technical level of production has thus far not corresponded to modern needs. For this reason, as was demanded by the

resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, and as was also stressed at today's meeting, in the kraj we will be concerned with the consistent realization of the resolution, and about the rapid implementation of scientific and technical knowledge in practice.

In spite of the great effort of the party bodies and organizations toward the fulfillment of the tasks in capital construction, we have not attained the desired change. The production capacities that were counted on in the plan are going into operation late. Of the 47 centrally reviewed construction projects which are supposed to be completed this year and in the coming years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the majority are postponing their transfer dates by one or more years. We are very much disturbed that such key projects as the nuclear electric power plants are lagging. We know that their construction is very complex and exacting, but it also has the highest priority. There is no success in applying the experience built up from construction thus far in order to be able to hold to the planned deadlines. For example, the construction of Block II V2 in Jaslovske Bohunice is 6 months behind. At the Nuclear Electric Power Station in Mochovce, with serious deficiencies in preparing for construction and in the planned readiness, it has not been possible to develop work in such a way as is needed and as deadlines decreed by the government demand.

An important deficiency in capital construction that goes on and on is that there is disagreement between the plans of the investors, the plans of the construction organization, and the suppliers of engineering equipment. They select lower volumes, and this then generally causes slippages at mandatory and centrally reviewed construction projects. This is so in the case of the die forging shop of the Trnava Automotive Plants, Slovakofarma and the Wire Mill in Hlohovec, Tatra Banovce, the Meat Combines in Dunajska Streda and Levice, the Dairy in Nove Mesto nad Vahom, and at several other important construction projects.

We know that in addition to the objective reasons, there are also many subjective ones. First of all, greater cohesion of the plans is desired, as is a more skillful differentiation between the investors, the construction labor suppliers, and the technological management. There needs to be much improvement in the management and organizational work of the participants of capital construction.

In accordance with the needs of society, we are devoting much concern to the fulfillment of the urgent tasks in agricultural production. The past years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan were not easy for agricultural personnel. The results of their work were influenced mainly by unfavorable climatic conditions. This is the reason why it was not possible to fulfill the plan and the pledge to gain 2.5 million tons of grain annually. During this year, agricultural workers in the kraj produced 1,428,000 tons of grains. Great results were attained in the production of lentils, soybean, and oilseed crops. It has been shown that with the combination of science and agricultural primary production, with the improvement of quality of management, with the increase in quality of labor and the reduction of losses, it is possible to achieve suitable results, even under unfavorable weather conditions.

Depending upon the quality and quantity of feed mixtures of bulk feeds, it is possible to fulfill the goals in livestock production successfully and to maintain the effectiveness of the productivity of domestic animals. In particular, we estimate that the milk productivity of cows has increased; this year, their average annual milking will increase by more than 3.5 liters per milch cow. With the active aid of the central government, there are prerequisites for the fulfillment of the tasks in livestock production and for fulfillment of the tasks uniformly during the first half of 1984. Even this year, when there were 37 heat wave days during the summer, and the ground water shortage currently is up to 200 mm, we were convinced of what great significance the care of the soil, of our most important national wealth, is to the national economy. In those places where the soil received its needed nutrition in organic and mineral form, and was well prepared from an agrotechnical standpoint, it bore up under this year's weather caprices.

The past years, especially 1983, showed that, in addition to good care of the soil, water is the decisive intensification factor of high yields and increase of plant production. Approximately 30-40 percent higher harvests were attained on well-prepared soils and irrigated vegetation.

On the basis of many years of knowledge as of now, it would be proper to consider whether the building of irrigation systems could be accelerated, depending upon the capability of the national economy. However, it is necessary for the minister of metallurgy and heavy engineering immediately to solve the material-technical supply for irrigation farming more responsibly and purposefully. The current capacities of Sigma, the monopoly producer of this equipment, do not suffice either for new construction or for the inevitable reconstruction of outmoded irrigation systems, and do not even cover the need for spare parts, which are in very short supply, and are also a reason why the irrigation systems are not being used sufficiently.

Irrigation systems, in addition to their intensification and stabilization function, can help even more notably in the utilization of soil resources through the cultivation of all kinds of intermediate crops for the gaining of two harvests per year. In cooperation with Soviet and Hungarian agriculturalists, we are initiating the testing out of these possibilities in our country also. There is no quarrel over the fact that investments in the soil and its fertilization, bring rapid dividends, are highly effective and supply a sufficient amount of raw materials from domestic sources.

In addition to the great attention that we devote to the soil and its fertilization, we are making efforts to raise the operations of lagging enterprises to the level of the leading ones. In this case, we are placing emphasis on the implementation of a new improved management system, the finding of new approaches and the elimination of outmoded habits. We are being helped significantly in this by the cooperative circles and the development of associated socialist obligations, which we are employing in the fulfillment of the tasks stemming from today's session of the Central Committee.

We consider the tasks of the national economic plan for 1984 to be feasible and practical. It will depend upon how we will succeed in finishing up the solution with the aid of the VUH's and the ministries of certain problems of material and technical supply, but especially upon how we will succeed in increasing the responsibility of all communists in the fulfillment of the plan task. In our work, we wish to still more decisively whip up the struggle so that in every sector the resolutions of the Central Committee are put into life with great responsibility and in a principled and flexible manner. We wish to use our reserves with even greater initiative, to develop the activity and the creative initiative of the workers, and to use the method of counterplanning. We intend to use even the preparation of party membership meetings for such activation of the kraj party organization.

Bratislava's Slapka

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 83 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Gejza Slapka, member of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, leading secretary of the Bratislava City Committee of the CPSL, at the CPSL plenum]

[Text] Comrades, ladies and gentlemen!

The systematic fulfillment of the socioeconomic development tasks of our society in the conditions of Bratislava is the center of the effort of the entire city party organization, in which case we are placing emphasis on the intensification of production by means of greater evaluation of energy, raw materials, and producer goods, more rapid growth of labor productivity, and better use of production equipment and working time. We attribute equal importance to the process of accelerating scientific and technical development, the effectiveness of capital construction, and also the further expansion of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries.

The industrial enterprises on the territory of Bratislava overfulfilled the plan for adjusted value added output for the first 10 months of this year by 1.3 percent, which represents a maximum value of 150 million korunas. The growth curve of their production as compared to the equivalent period of last year is 9.8 percent higher. Construction organizations fulfilled the planned volumes of adjusted value added output by 101.8 percent. The enterprises recorded an increase in labor productivity and a reduction of material outlays per koruna of output by 0.36 haller. The reduction of the level of inventories as against the plan by surpassing the planned output formation was favorably reflected in speeding up the turnover rate of supplies, which was reduced by 2.2 days and is in a declining trend.

In capital construction, the priority tasks of the state plan were fulfilled satisfactorily. At the construction projects planned to be completed this year, at the Slovnaft national enterprise, the Bratislava Automotive Works, and at Matador, favorable financial fulfillment is being achieved; however, the assurance of the material tasks is the most important. The situation is

favorable at the construction of the railroad mainline bridge, where there is a realistic assumption that it will be partially linked up by 19 December, in the way that the joint socialist pledge was adopted by the participants in the construction. In doing so, the bridge builders are significantly contributing to the desired linkup of the mainline system of our republic and to the improvement of transport from Petržalka to the center of the city.

We recorded a positive development also in the manifold qualitative production indicators, such as the improvement of the quality of products and the increase of their technical level. In particular, through the service of the enterprises in the chemical, wood processing, and textile industry branches, 11.3 percent of the products were placed into the first quality category. We recorded improvement also in new products, when their share of commodity production grew by 19.1 percent, and even the number of technically advanced products is gradually increasing.

The results to date in the fulfillment of the plan tasks for 1983 are indisputably a good starting point for the further development of the economy of the city in 1984. We are aware that the change in approaches to management work is not persistent, or comprehensive, or consistent, even when, along with the initiative of the work force, it is a decisive factor in the results obtained. The favorable results are weakened by the failure to fulfill production tasks in certain enterprises, as even in exports to nonsocialist states, which, as Comrade Potac indicated in the report of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, is acquiring exceptional importance under the current conditions. Construction organizations are not succeeding in reducing construction time, and the turning over of certain capital projects for operation is being delayed. The steadiness of production and construction is constantly unfavorably affected by the chronic deficiencies in the supplier-buyer relations, in which case I consider them both to be equally vital, for the reason, therefore, of how our enterprises fulfill their obligations toward other buyers in our entire country. This is how, for example, we solved the holdup in the regularity of supplies of hydraulic cylinders from the Heavy Engineering Works and switchboards from the Bratislava Electrical Engineering Works.

In the line of political-organizational measures, in working up the guidelines for the preparation of the state implementation plan for 1984, we are emphasizing the inevitability of fulfilling and exceeding this year's tasks as a basic starting point for the adoption of the progressive tasks of the plan for 1984, and through this the creation of favorable conditions for the realization of the goals of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan. We are concentrating our main attention primarily upon the enterprises of the machinery and electrical engineering industry, specialty chemical industry, and consumer and wood processing industries, which are the action components in the higher production growth rate in our city.

In the interest of intensifying the industrial character of Bratislava, we are devoting increased efforts to the development of machinery production, which is being fostered especially by more effective utilization of and

addition to production capacities in the Bratislava Automotive Works national enterprise.

With political-organizational and mass-political work, many plantwide committees and basic organizations of the party have successfully drawn the entire work force of enterprises into the preparation of the plans, the result of which was the filling in of the plan guidelines, connected with the development of the initiatives of the workers, designed for the solution of bottlenecks. We give positive evaluation to such approaches by the communists in the Matador national enterprise, in the MDZ Works, in the Slovak Industrial Glass Works, in Slovnafta, in Czechoslovak Danube Shipping, the Juraj Dimitrov Chemical Works, etc. Many enterprises and organizations have proposed counterplans for 1984. Their number has increased as compared to last year; however, their content continues to be one-sidedly aimed at the basic production indices that depend upon the creation of wage funds. Our effort is directed toward getting the enterprise work forces to concentrate their attention in the counterplans more emphatically on the qualitative side of production, the increasing of export capability. We see the way to provide for the urgent tasks of the next year in the more consistent realization of the Set of Measures to Improve the Management of the Economy. This necessitates the further improvement of the responsibility of every manager for the quality and efficiency of the work of his personnel and of every individual, the conscious adherence to labor discipline and order in production. It is inevitable that we reach a level where the principles of the set of measures would function comprehensively and with full intensity in all sectors and in every phase of the capital formation process. Our data so far indicates that we continue to have reserves and capacities that are a potential source of higher quality preparation of the national economic plans for next year. Therefore, we are continuing to make efforts to implement a critical approach toward the results attained and toward the preparation of plans for 1984, in such a way that they would reflect the optimal possibilities and capabilities of every work force. We are expecting such approaches and guidance as concerns enterprise work forces to a greater degree, also from the part of the appropriate ministries and the VUH's.

We consider the ability of production enterprises to accelerate the realization of scientific and technical knowledge in practice to be a decisive factor in the guaranteeing of the tasks of the 1984 plan. The development and gradual realization of the results of the Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee contributes significantly to this goal. At the meetings of the city committee of the party and the district committees, we adopted the programs of accelerating scientific and technical progress in Bratislava for 1984-1985. They contain measures for the intensification of the developmental trends of the city as a scientific-production complex with the intensification of creative ties between scientific research facilities and production enterprises. In working it up, we based ourselves on the knowledge of the broad party aktiv, scientists, researchers, workers in the economy, as well as on the results of numerous consultations of party officials with the management personnel of scientific research establishments, schools of higher learning, and production enterprises. We expect

that the results of this broad scale organizational work will be projected into a higher degree of joining up the technical development plans to the other components of the enterprise plans.

One of the forms of our party influence on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress are the target programs, which are compiled under the leadership of the city party committee by many organizations and specialized work groups. For example, the target program for increasing the quality of complex housing construction serves for the improvement of important capital investment activity in Bratislava. Our goal is to attain, along with the completion of the residences, also the scheduled construction of preschool and school institutions in public supply, health care, and services facilities. Currently, we can record specific successes in the realization of this target program. The lighting in residential developments has been improved in the city district of Petržalka, where progress has come about even in the expansion of the material-technical base of trade and services. The initiative of the city committee of the SZM [Socialist Union of Youth], which undertook under its sponsorship the grounds and garden management in the urban sector of Petržalka as a youth construction project, is finding exceptional evaluation among the citizens. This year, they helped in taking care of over 25 hectares of ground, and the entire value of the work amounts to more than 7 million korunas. We will continue to support the positive experiences and examples of the youth organization.

In conformity with the tasks that the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic spelled out in the formation of a strategy of economic and social development up to 1985, we are working up a draft of the main directions of economic and social development of Bratislava for the years 1986 to 1990, and the long-range outlook up to 1995.

According to the intent of the resolutions of this year's city conference of the party, we are working up political-organizational measures for working up a program for a campaign for high efficiency and quality of all work in Bratislava, which we wish to propose to the coming city conference. In working up this program, in the next few years, we want to implement the analysis of the real capabilities of Bratislava, and how to fulfill the resolutions of the congresses even better and optimally. The domestic policy events in our country, as the report made by Comrade Vasil Bilak showed convincingly, are inseparably linked to the current international situation.

The workers of Bratislava fully agree with the position of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on the agreement between the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the USSR Council of Ministers. The preparatory work on the development of operational-tactical missile complexes on the territory of Czechoslovakia is a correct, just, and inevitable measure. We cannot just watch inactively when not far from our western borders preparations for the deployment of destructive atomic weapons are under way.

Central Slovakia's Pikula

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Dec 83 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Jan Pikula, member of the Central Committee of the CPSL, chairman of the Central Slovak Kraj National Committee]

[Text] There is no doubt that the fulfillment of the tasks in the economy, the successful realization of the resolutions of the 16th Congress of the CPCZ--the orientation toward maximum quality, economy, and effectiveness, toward the economization of raw materials, producer goods and energy, and toward the acceleration of the implementation of the results of science and technology in practice--is the most concrete contribution toward the strengthening of peace, socialism, and progress in the world. In the spirit of this principle, the kraj organization of the party is devoting constant and extraordinary attention to the fulfillment of the tasks in the economy of the kraj.

A reflection of this kind of attention is the totally favorable fulfillment of the state-level tasks. For example, the volume of production in the kraj during the past 2 years increased by 8.8 percent, whereas there was a great slowdown in production with high demand on fuel and energy sources. The machinery and electrical engineering industries registered the highest growth rate. During the same period, we in the kraj increased exports by more than 43 percent. The volume of regulated internal productivity in industry grew approximately twice as fast as production itself. In the kraj, the guidelines drawn up in the agricultural branch were also realized successfully.

During the first 10 months of this year, in the kraj we achieved a more than 7 percent increase in the volume of industrial production, and likewise a 10 percent increase in adjusted value added output as against the same period of last year. Since the beginning of the year, the machinery industry has been developing at the fastest rate with a 14 percent increase in production, and the same is true of the chemical, rubber, and electrical engineering industries. The number of technically advanced products is growing.

We are fulfilling the tasks in exports to socialist countries by 105.1 percent fco, which is contributed to in a significant way also by the international ties of 39 enterprises in the kraj, oriented toward the early fulfillment of annual tasks of exports to the Soviet Union, which we will fulfill early. However, we are not succeeding in fulfilling the tasks in exports to the nonsocialist countries, even though the fulfillment in wholesale prices is 101.7 percent, but in fco only 94.4 percent. During the past period, we achieved good results in the overall economization of the production process.

In capital construction, during the 10-month period, we realized 82.4 percent of the annual plan. We realized the priority tasks of the annual plan by 88 percent, which can be regarded totally favorably. In spite of these

overall good results, there exist certain serious problems. The required concentration of capacities and funds for the fulfillment of tasks in the category of priority tasks of the state plan are not being coped with. This applies to such important construction projects as the Industrial Rubber Plant of Hnusta, the reconstruction of the Hronec plant, the expansion of the Liptovsky Mikulas plant, the Piesok Machinery Plant, the reconstruction of the Preglejka Zarnovica plant and the modernization of the lumber works in Liptovsky Hradek.

In housing complex construction, with the favorable fulfillment of the finance plan for volume, there persists a lack of uniformity in the finishing of residences. By the end of October, 5,186 residences were finished in a state ready to be turned over, which is only 63.2 percent of the annual plan.

There is lower operationability in the finishing work in the activities of public and technical supply, where water system construction is particularly lagging.

Special purpose construction is continuing to lag behind considerably, especially at schools and at health and social service construction projects. In spite of all of these problems, from the last control day devoted to the fulfillment of tasks in housing complex construction, which take place as a rule every month on the level of the Ministry of Construction of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Kraj National Committee, one can assume the fulfillment of the basic annual tasks. Nevertheless, this requires the tightening up of approaches in the area of labor discipline, the use of construction equipment, the shift system, and in the organizational and management work of all those taking part.

Along with the positive matters, problems and deficiencies persist also in our kraj. They exist especially in the wood processing, furniture, and cellulose-paper industries. In spite of the effort, unwanted inventories have built up, especially of finished products. The needed operationability is not being achieved either, from the standpoint of contributions of innovative dynamism in production.

We are faced with particularly more difficult problems in drinking water supply for the populace, since as a result of the long-lasting drought the unfavorable situation became even worse. The shortage of drinking water affects more than 100,000 citizens of the kraj, which is 11 percent of the entire number of citizens supplied from public water supply systems, especially in the southern part of the kraj. Currently, the supplies of drinking water are controlled in 150 communities and towns of the kraj. We adopted concrete measures on the level of the kraj and district party and state bodies which are aimed especially at the area of proper and efficient economization of drinking water and at restricting its use in industry and in agriculture. However, along with these measures, the construction of water supply systems is the basic solution.

In the plan for next year, we are mainly concerned with intensifying the favorable developmental trends of this year for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan. The plan is based on a higher evaluation of material and energy approaches and on the transplanting of the further increase of efficiency in the production process. It will be concerned above all with the further development of all kinds of qualitative changes, which will be implemented in the economy of the kraj.

The information thus far from the preparation of plans for next year indicates that increased demands for investments, workers, wages, and imports continue to persist, even though on quite a reduced scale, and this is so with the failure to provide for the required tasks for 1984. Therefore, the kraj and district committees of the party are leading plantwide and basic organizations to a point where, through the implementation of the leading tasks and rights of control, they would assure the maximum fulfillment of the social requirements in all decisive indicators in the plan for 1984.

The kinds of tasks that await us are attested to also by the fact that in 1984 and 1985, the industrial enterprises of the kraj have to realize production in the extent of 43.6 percent of the volume of production for the entire 5-year plan. Next year, we will be counting on a 7 percent reduction of the share of production in branches of industry that are material and energy intensive. The highest growth rate will be in the machinery, electrical engineering, wood processing and cellulose paper industries. We are devoting particular attention, in the interest of assuring the planned production and supply in 1984, to the accelerated elimination of deficiencies in the achievement of the projected parameters for new capacities. It is very strongly desired, in the spirit of the decision of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, that scientific and technical advance be literally the axis of the plan.

The workers of the ZTS [Heavy Machinery Works] in Dubnica and Vahom, who accepted a call to reduce electric power consumption by 3 percent as against the plan, came up with an exemplary initiative. The call has thus far been accepted by 151 enterprises, plants, and organizations in the kraj and also applies to the further years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

In capital construction, in our efforts to solve the chronic problems, next year we have tasks awaiting us that are qualitatively more demanding. It will be necessary to solve the problems of the structure and the spatial siting of construction capacities, material and technical supplies, to assure the fulfillment of material tasks, especially those having priority for society as a whole, and the terms of completion of construction projects and the increasing of their quality.

In conformity with the decisions of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, important tasks await the national committees in the kraj also, and this is in the entire complex of their activity and jurisdictions. They must satisfy the justified needs of the citizens in the kraj with considerably greater consistency, especially in the quality and

variety of services, in solving their problems with flexibility and initiative in the sector of trade, transport, schooling, and health service, in increasing the share of operation and maintenance of city construction, etc. We are convinced with full responsibility that this concerns tasks with important political-social effects on the thinking of the citizens, the solution of which will affect to a great measure their tranquility, and, in case of nonfulfillment, their restlessness.

An important factor that affects the fulfillment of tasks is the development of the initiative of workers, socialist competition, and the socialist obligation movement. We assert with joy that of the total value of the socialist obligations accepted for this year in the amount of some 796 million korunas, 93 percent were fulfilled during the first 9 months, which creates the prerequisites not only to fulfill them but to exceed them considerably. The approaching anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and the liberation of our country by the glorious Soviet Army are already a strong impulse during these days for the development of socialist labor initiative with the purpose of fulfilling the tasks of 1984 and the whole Seventh 5-Year Plan.

There is no doubt that this flowing of increasing initiative of our citizens will be significantly influenced also by the evaluative membership meetings of the basic party organizations at the beginning of next year. What will be involved is the consistent evaluation of the results for 1983, to be aware of mistakes and deficiencies, and to search for the most effective forms and methods in the fulfillment of the tasks of 1984 and the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan.

CPSL Department Head Vanco

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Dec 83 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Rudolf Vanco, candidate member of the Central Committee of the CPSL, department head of the Central Committee of the CPSL]

[Text] This year, in spite of complications, we recorded better results in the total agricultural production. Gross agricultural production is being fulfilled, in which case livestock production is being exceeded by 4.3 percent, but the tasks of plant production are not being fulfilled. In spite of this, in view of the unfavorable climatic conditions during the year, we are able to evaluate the results achieved in a favorable light. For up to now we have harvested the highest yields of densely sown plants. We have fulfilled the production of plants, together with corn for grain, which the drought affected considerably, by 98.4 percent, and, with a shortfall of 62,000 tons, we reached the closest to the annual planned production of plants during this 5-year plan, which is 3.8 million tons. However, the drought markedly afflicted the yields of sugar beets and late potatoes, bulk feeds, and other crops.

In livestock production, thanks to the supplementation of the central feed stockpile and the importation of fodder plants, and thanks to the sufficiency

of high quality bulk feeds from the 1982 harvest, improved care in their evaluation, as well as to the favorable conditions during the winter season and the initiative of the workers in livestock production, the tasks were not only fulfilled, but even exceeded. As compared with the preceding year, when we had to set up rationing measures in the consumption of livestock products, this incomparably improved the provisioning of the market.

In spite of the favorable results--in spite of the revival of the growth rate--in livestock production, deficiencies caused by the human factor which lower the effectiveness of the work of farmers and workers of the food industry continue to persist. Certain qualitative indices are not fulfilled. We cannot always be satisfied with the quality of raw materials and with their evaluation in the food industry. Even when the norms for consumption are not being exceeded overall, there exist deficiencies in the conversion of feeds, especially in feed for pigs and poultry, which is attested to by the differences when compared to the Czech Socialist Republic and among the enterprises in the Slovak Socialist Republic.

We noted favorable results in the storage and the capital scale fertilization of the land resources, but in non-capital fertilization serious problems continue to persist, and with a shortage of financing resources, the desired improvement of the situation will not come about even next year, and this will have an unfavorable influence, especially on the enterprises with the lowest level of farming that are operating under the worst production conditions.

Basically, the plan for 1984 encompasses the guidelines of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In plant production, its increase for the marketing stockpiles is anticipated at 9.2 percent.

The basic production resource in agriculture is the soil. Therefore, the demanding tasks for plant production during next year, and in the future as well, require the concentration of attention on the conservation, fertilization, and consistent use of soil resources.

We have a number of positive examples from the work of cooperative farmers and workers on the state farms who utilize the soil resources in exemplary fashion and have currently already attained and exceeded the agroecological ceilings of yields of individual crops. However, a considerable portion of the enterprises continue to lag behind in this respect. Therefore, we have to direct the forces and capabilities of the research and development base, the management spheres, and agricultural practice directly toward the guaranteeing of an increase in the fertility of the soil.

Another important factor influencing the yields of agricultural crops is water. We became convinced of this also during this year, which was climatically unfavorable. The situation is very serious. The inadequate rainfall and the steep decline in water reserves is forcing us to think about a solution for this problem in a more comprehensive and consistent way, with maximum responsibility. We have to develop ever-increasing efforts to fulfill and exceed the plan tasks in the construction of irrigation

systems. It is required that the suppliers reevaluate their approaches toward the fulfillment of this important social task. Without pumps, pipes, building capacities, and parts, irrigation systems cannot be built and maintained in production to the needed extent. The failure to supply the needed materials, equipment, and capacities are reflected again in the failure to fulfill the requirements of society--in the production of agricultural products and in increased demands for their supply. Their procurement in the interest of fulfilling the construction tasks does not always respond to socialist supplier-consumer relations.

On the other hand, we have to assure the complete utilization of irrigation. In this respect, there are different approaches and quite some reserves. Experiences show that good results are being achieved in districts where the District Labor Center and the district committee of the CPSL devote attention to these questions.

We are acutely lacking smaller water reservoirs for storing water, for the construction of which sufficient funds and capacities have thus far not been allocated. This situation has an unfavorable effect on the supply of water to a considerable number of agricultural facilities, and to citizens as well. Without sufficient sources, not only will it be impossible to use the existing irrigation systems, but it will also be impossible to move ahead with their construction.

It is desirable from the standpoint of society for us to seek the possibilities of how to realize the difficult tasks in the construction of irrigation and drainage systems during the last 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan within the framework of the capacity of the national economy, and to find a way of maintaining the trend of their construction even during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, with the assurance of their proper location during the coming 2 years.

Experience at home and abroad thus far indicates that the practical realization of technological systems is the single available road that makes it possible in the current period and in the future to increase the intensity of plant production and to guarantee its priority development and constant outpacing of livestock production. This is the revolutionary element of the further industrialization of agricultural production and the tested road of materialization of the results of scientific and technical development in practice, directed also toward the elevation of the level of the lagging enterprises. The expansion of the systems next year by approximately 240,000 hectares will depend directly on the inevitable material and technical requirements (biological material, equipment), as well as organizational and economic prerequisites.

We are faced with quite a few tasks next year in livestock production as well. The most urgent task in this area is to expand, improve, and raise the efficiency of the production of livestock products from internal feed sources. This will necessitate the mobilization of all available sources, such as straw and corn husks, and their skillful beneficiation. In the light of the given suggestions, it is necessary also to use up food industry wastes and other non-traditional feed sources.

It is necessary to give favorable evaluation to the fact that feed grains for monogastric animals have been supplied at the planned level. In the Slovak Socialist Republic, the central stockpile has been reinforced with the emergency allocation of 170,000 tons of grain from abroad. The agricultural enterprises know what they have and what they will get before the new harvest. If the number of poultry and swine is not exceeded, they can be fed efficiently up to the new harvest. This will have a favorable effect on the more even fulfillment of the production and procurement tasks in livestock production, and will help to stabilize the food market.

The feed industry must affirm itself more clearly in this directly, especially through the stabilization of the formulas and quality of feed grains and by taking up guarantees for the productivity attained.

This requires a more consistent utilization of the knowledge of science and technology, the results of advanced know-how, the heightening of labor discipline and the inculcation of economic thinking, informal stimulation, and utilization of worker initiative directed toward the decisive sectors and tasks.

In the entire agricultural-food complex, we will continue even next year to place emphasis on the reduction of all kinds of losses. Experience affirms the correctness of this road. Namely, it is more advantageous to invest in the reduction of losses than in additional production, in which we derive losses and returns of losses from poor quality production.

The problem of energy and motor fuel comes to the fore with greatest urgency. One cannot disagree with the fact that in an agricultural complex also it is necessary to make efficiency moves. Even with the present problems and planning system, it is nevertheless necessary to find the most advantageous form of distribution and redistribution of electric power, fuels, and POL in such a way that the primary producer enterprises would not have to carry out the needed agrotechnical operations with a shortage of allocated quantities, for this, as a rule, has an unfavorable effect on the yields.

All of us are aware of how important the uniform and qualitative supply of the market is, especially with foods, as components of daily consumption. Much has been done for improvement in this sector also; however, not enough for us to satisfy the constantly increasing demands of the consumer. However, there are greater requirements not only for a sufficiency of goods, but also for quality, variety, and uniformity of supply. We are still quite guilty in this respect. We are going to direct the attention of the basic organizations of the CPSL and communists in leadership posts toward these problems next year as well.

We were convinced very graphically of this during the summer of this year, and we are convinced to this day, when we have succeeded and are succeeding in livestock production. We have emerged from the problem of storing meat, butter, pork, canned vegetables, etc. We were forced to find storage capacity abroad, for which it is necessary to pay. Therefore, in addition

to the more efficient utilization of existing storage and refrigeration capacities, it is necessary to do as much as possible for expanding them even for the given limited capabilities of our national economy, which will be returned to us in total at the same rapid rate.

We consider it to be especially important to intensify work with the personnel who are creating the basic prerequisites for the achievement of the needed developmental rates.

The fulfillment of the tasks of the fourth year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, in view of their complexity, requires increased concern for the human element. Therefore, we will orient the work of communists-management personnel toward having meritorious service awards. It is necessary to heighten the effectiveness of propaganda and education, so that the goals of the plan become second knowledge to the broadest circle of workers.

Presidium Member Abraham

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Dec 83 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Ladislav Abraham, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSL, chairman of the Slovak Council of Trade Unions]

[Text] The deliberations and results of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the party and the course of our discussions up to now have apprised us, the communists in the trade unions, that trade unions in their activity would consider as their main mission the fulfillment of the tasks of the 1984 plan. All the more so that their urgency is emphasized by the current complex international situation. Realistically thinking people affirmatively assess the efforts of our country for the dynamic development of our society.

Although not fully complete, the half-year public audit of the fulfillment of the economic plans, collective agreements, and socialist obligations has affirmed that the majority of our workers not only understand the goals of the economic and social policy of the party, but are also making efforts to fulfill them. With their devoted work, they are helping to make production efficient, to overcome many complications and difficulties in production. This is attested to by the savings and greater conservation of fuels, electric power, metals, and raw materials. The obligations of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress to increase savings by 0.5 percent, as the state target program specifies, is a reality in Slovakia also.

The public half-year audit has confirmed that the workers have adopted the decisions of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the party on the acceleration of scientific and technical development, some with finalized obligations, and not only in this field.

The majority of our workers also understand the needs connected with the security and defense of our state within the framework of the entire socialist community. This is attested to also by their increasing disagreement

with the decision of the United States of America and the agreement of the parliaments of some Western European states, especially those adjacent to us, on the deployment of additional missiles on their territories. They support the measures of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the federal government for guaranteeing the defense and security of our state and the entire socialist community, because these correspond to their vital interests. The response to the announcement of Comrade Andropov is favorable.

We, the communists in the trade unions, are aware that the worsening international situation itself, which is complicating not only the economic relations between East and West today, requires not only a further heightening of the level of management activity of state and economic bodies, but also an increase in the effectiveness of the work of trade unions. The comprehensive development and mobilization of the social and labor activity of the workers, of their creative resources, is our main goal at the current time.

The tasks of the plan for next year objectively require even closer cooperation of the state, economic, and trade union bodies at all levels of management. Greater realism and practicality is required, but also specific criticisms and responsibilities, especially in cooperation of plant committees with the economic managements of plants and enterprises.

We have already attained certain positive results in this direction. The number of joint discussions of plant committees and the top level trade union bodies with the appropriate state and economic bodies has increased. We can unequivocally state that this manifestation of the democratic participation of the worker personnel in the management of production and the national economy, in the solution and fulfillment of the tasks of social development, is getting to be like a system, like a method of solving production tasks and the improvement of concern for the workers. Much profitable motivation for the fulfillment of the tasks of socialist development emerged from these discussions.

Along with the totally favorable results, we are not content with the fact that the aims of the joint discussions, their results and their contribution to the solution of national economic tasks, labor and social needs of the workers, have many weaknesses and unutilized possibilities. For some trade union officials, especially as a result of their dependence for existence on the management of the plants, enterprises, or even economic production units, there continues to be a lack of courage to include even the basic vital needs of the workers at times in the program of joint discussions, and to insist adamantly on their solution. They are not aware that it is at these very joint meetings that they must fulfill the unswerving role and obligation of trade unions toward the working class and the other workers. In many ways, this applies not only to joint discussions in plants and enterprises, but also to joint discussions of middle and upper level trade union and all-trade union bodies with ministries and general administrations, and with kraj and district national committees.

In this regard, I wish also to mention the cooperation of the Slovak Trade Union Council with the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic. Each year it has been on a higher level. We are jointly learning how to fulfill the interests of our workers. We evaluate the efforts of our government in the solution of problems in the area of concern for the workers. We also consider a positive result of this cooperation to be the fact that at the last joint discussions of the presidium of the government and the secretariat of the Slovak Trade Union Council, the government accepted and worked into the plan for next year all of our main comments and suggestions. We believe that this kind of atmosphere will prevail, even in the fulfillment of the agreed-upon tasks of the 1984 plan, not only in the economic arena, but also in the social development of Slovakia.

In the name of the communists of the Council of Slovak Trade Unions, of the other republic organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, their active members and staffs, we also wish to express at the meeting of our Central Committee our support of the completion of the state plan for the development of the national economy of the Slovak Socialist Republic for 1984, because it creates the prerequisites for the maintenance of the aims spelled out by the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, directed at the maintenance of the present standard of living. We have also expressed this in the positions of the Presidium of the Council of Slovak Trade Unions. Even in this regard, we base ourselves on the words of Comrade Gustav Husak, who stated at the last meeting of the Central Committee of the party that even in these complex international conditions we will maintain the standard of living of our workers.

However, we have notified our government of the inevitability of solving certain pressing problems. For example, serious deficiencies are showing up in the accumulation by sales organizations of products out of supply, long waiting periods in supplier-customer relations, the low motivational effectiveness of wages, etc., all of which has an unfavorable influence, not so much on the salaries of the upper level economic personnel and not at all on the salaries of state employees, but as a result of the improper establishment of indicators of material incentive, many times on the incomes of workers. Although the report of the presidium reacts to these and other facts, we are seriously disturbed that even this year, although the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan for 1984 have been long known already, again no broader participation of workers in the formation of the plan managed to take place. Some trade union bodies were unable to present their position within the specified deadlines, because the draft plan was presented to them late or after its submission to a superior organ. We are doing whatever we can! We will lead the trade union organs and organizations so that the plan for 1984 gets additional discussions at the work sites, so that the workers at least at this stage become acquainted with their tasks.

The reasons for many problems, which have persisted for a long time already in the development of our national economy, are also being eliminated slowly. This is also attested to by the remarks of the workers at discussions on the exchange of membership certificates, in which as a rule they criticize

the deficiencies in the organization of work and production, in the supply of producer goods, raw materials, and spare parts, the slow implementation of new technology, the continuing shortage of certain special labor safety devices, etc. We are aware of the fact that these are not problems that can be solved in a short time for full satisfaction, and not to the satisfaction of all. We note them, however, because their solution is lagging, and therefore the workers in the plants and enterprises do not clearly perceive thus far the results of the joint effort of state, economic, and trade union bodies and organizations.

We are aware that the solution of these factors will be made unusually difficult by the worsening international situation. It is just for this reason that we are so strongly making efforts to intensify and improve the cooperation of state, economic, and trade union organs.

It was with great interest that at the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ I listened to the report of its presidium on the current international situation, which was made by Comrade Vasil Bilak. In addition to other things, he evaluated the importance of trade unions. From the new aspects, he justified the inevitability of fulfilling the plan as the basis of the defense and security of our state. I agree with what he said, that "only devoted, conscientious, and well-organized work will make it possible to create the values on the basis of which it will be possible to cover the increased outlays for defense, and at the same time to provide for the material and cultural level of the people."

The way that is spelled out to us by the draft decision is the way that we will orient the work and activity of the trade unions bodies and organizations in the coming period.

5808

CSO: 2400/127

GROWTH OF WORKER MILITIA UNITS REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 25 Oct 83) pp 1158-1163

[Article by Dr Gunter Holzweissig, department head in the All German Institute, West Berlin: "From Enterprise Protection to Territorial Army--30 Years of SED Workers Militia"]

[Text] The worker's militia held their 30th anniversary on 24 September 1983. The evening before Erich Honecker handed out the Karl Marx Medal and other high medals to "exemplary units and deserving fighters."¹ After the ceremony had been featured on "Aktuelle Kamera," the first TV program, "Alarm im Morgen-grauen" [Alert at Dawn] brought a report on the militia hundertschaft Herbert Ritter in action.

The high point of the propaganda campaign for the 30th anniversary running for months was the campaign appeal at Karl Marx Allee in East Berlin attended, according to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, by 10,000 militiamen, with 150,000 enthusiastic Berliners lining up on both sides. Erich Honecker gave a brief eulogy. Among those who attended the campaign appeal were "many production activists, labor heroes, national award laureates--perceptibly expressing that the producing workers class also knows how to organize its strength militarily."² As such demonstrations clearly violate the demilitarized status of Berlin, the three western city commandants found themselves motivated to write another letter of protest.

The Founding on 21 June 1953

Hitherto, the GDR leadership had not committed a definite day for honoring, or of the founding of, the people's militia, in contrast to the other armed organs, the National People's Army, the civil defense, the People's Police or State Security. Instead, all semi-official announcements said they had come into existence during the summer of 1953. It was explained by that imperialist circles, controlled mainly from the FRG, had then made counterrevolutionary assaults on the state order in the GDR, a claim which even through permanent repetition gains nothing in its truth-content.

Actually, not the intrigues by an external enemy but the gripes of their own population was what exploded spontaneously in the 17 June 1953 people's revolt.

Just as spontaneously the SED thereupon decided to set up enterprise militia in the large-scale enterprises and state institutions.

True enough, there had already been endeavors since mid-1952 to organize worker's militia in large-scale enterprises here or there. Yet only now have three historians become definite on when the militia actually originated: "Embedded in the total of inferences and measures of rebuffing the imperialist counter-revolution, the SED Central Committee at its 14th session on 21 June 1953 thus suggested setting up worker's militia for the protection of the accomplishments of the workers and farmers state. In July 1953 already it conferred with the SED kreis first secretaries on setting up the worker's militia and on ideological issues connected with that."³ The 25th anniversary, by the way, was celebrated on 29 September 1878.⁴

Militia celebrations close in time to 17 June are avoided for obvious reasons. On 1 May 1954 the party army, still in tentative uniforms, made its first public appearance. Since then it never failed to join the May demonstrations. On 23 August 1961, ten days after the wall was built, the militia made the first grand appearance. Erich Honecker, on personal instruction from Walter Ulbricht, directed its assignment in forcibly cutting off Berlin's east sector, as he mentions explicitly in his autobiography. There Honecker also attests to his particularly close relations to the militia, which have continued to this day: "The militia, from the local level up to the Central Committee, are directed and led by the SED. Above and beyond their directly defending their enterprises, we charged them, in building up our national defense in the late 1950's, with effectively protecting the working people's accomplishments in urban and rural areas. We have always been eager to enhance the militia's operational readiness, educate resolute, staunch fighters, constantly improve the training of the companies and promote the qualifications of their commanders. We do of course ensure the principle of voluntariness for joining the militia. I have attended militia training and exercises repeatedly. Many a commander I have known personally for over two decades. I am always impressed with the high dedication of the militia members and their trust in our party."⁵

Internal Party Critique

On Honecker's suggestion a central school for militia leaders was set up in Schmerwitz in 1957. Thousands have passed through it meanwhile. Also since 1957 the SED Central Committee has been publishing a monthly, DER KAEMPFER, the size of which was drastically cut back, however, in July 1983 because of paper shortage. Anyone who regularly reads between the lines in that paper can discover a lot about conditions in the militia which official orations and articles keep mum about. An example is the lead article in the December 1981 issue. The catalogue of demands and measures presented there speaks volumes: --Party group secretaries had known much better how to draw the communists in their militant collectives into confronting an exemplary fulfilment of training goals;

--training in militia schools had given the graduates more mature leadership qualities and better facilities in methods;

--altogether all units had shown more perceptive requirements issued for the organization of training, a more rational use made of the training terrain,

stricter controls in the implementation and a more realistic evaluation along preassigned rating criteria;
--political and combat training should have to be checked over at the start of the 1982 training year without permitting any vacillation or whitewash;
--weaknesses but strengths and their causes also should be disclosed with discrimination; and
--everything, of course, that has stood up well should be kept, developed and improved. That concerned in particular the organization of military life, the strict enforcing of discipline, order and security.

People's Police officers are in charge of militia training. Militia weapons, ammunition and equipment are also in their charge. Yet the SED functionaries in charge of operational direction are neither satisfied with the support from the People's Police nor with the motivation of the militia members who, after all, still have to play at being soldiers during their scarce leisure hours. Furthermore the enterprises complain about having their executive associates sent to courses at the militia school because that jeopardized their plan fulfillment. Even so, someone who wants a career has to accept that into the bargain.

Overdrawn Enemy Image

What the party finds most difficult, rather for good reasons, is conveying a credible enemy image. Here one may presume that the militia organ, DER KAEMPFER, with its hyperbolic manner of speech, accomplishes precisely the opposite of what it has in mind. Anyone who would want to identify those who are targeted in the regular column entitled "Mortal Enemies of the People at the Switches of Power in the FRG," would make himself ridiculous. An example of these gross polemics is found in the August 1983 issue of DER KAEMPFER, in a portrait of CDU Bundestag deputy Herbert Hupka: "Hupka denigrates the organized peace movement through and through. He indicts it for being 'blind to Soviet aggression.' What matters to Hupka is 'to get enthusiastic about Germany, to be ready for Germany, to fight for Germany.' And we add to that: till everything goes to pot. For precisely that is what the enemy of the people plans and pushes, while finding active support for it at certain government benches."

Within the scope of the forcible general militarization of public life in the GDR and, particularly, the SED's defense propaganda, important tasks are assigned to the militia. Experienced and politically reliable militia members are assigned in the political instruction of the National People's Army as well as to the defense education in schools. When NVA recruits take their public oath, veteran militia commanders from the working class as a rule hand over the rifles to the conscripts.

It has been noted recently that the SED, with more irritation than in the past, opposes the attention given the militia in western media. With remarkable candor, Col Gen Scheibe, in an article on the 30th anniversary of the militia, in the officers organ MILITAERWESEN, e.g., took issue with the "shameless lies" of FRG politicians and journalists: "For these people the militia are, as they say, an 'SED Party Army.' The enemy hates them so deeply mainly because they are led by the party directly and have thus far always proven their reliability, loyalty to the cause of socialism, and high operational readiness. The FRG Bundestag keeps raising provocative inquiries about the role of the militia

and presents vastly excessive data on its strength, equipment and arms. A certain Bundestag deputy, Wrangel by name, came up with the claim the militia were equipped with tanks, rockets and heavy artillery and meant for actions at an operations scale, etc. That was topped by a certain Dissmann in his pamphlet 'Militia of the Workers Class--Civil War Army of the SED.' That CSU man makes the outrageous claim the militia would in case of an armed conflict make their appearance on FRG territory."

Now there are indeed no easily accessible indications that the militia are getting set to occupy FRG enterprises.⁷ For that, those fighters may lack the necessary motivation.⁸ At the very least, the SED party executives would be all set to respond with adequate measures--different from Poland--to any possible riots in enterprises, strikes or plant occupations, one may assume. It is being reported, incidentally, that after martial law was declared in Poland, the SED offered a consultation with militia functionaries within the scope of "fraternal aid."

Numerical Strength, Equipment and Military Mission

You cannot get any information from the GDR on the numerical strength of the militia. In western publications estimates fluctuate between 350,000 and 500,000. MILITARY BALANCE of ISS (the London Institute for Strategic Studies) always gave the figure of 500,000 militia members in years past. The 1981/82 and again the 1982/83 edition now says the militia had 15,000 combat groups. What is not being said, however, is what organizational form hides behind these combat groups and how many members there are in it. By combat groups the ISS presumably means the militia battalions consisting of from 3 to 5 companies. If an average battalion strength is set at 300 members, we get, according to the ISS information, a total of 450,000 militia members. That includes also a large number of women who are mainly used for medical and supply services. Militia equipment includes, among other items, armored personnel carriers, anti-tank guns, mortars and anti-aircraft guns.

Apart from the general formulas on the mission of the militia, to take on the protection of the workers and farmers power and the state-owned enterprises in case of conflict, the military tasks of the militia have only once been specifically formulated, on 17 August 1978, by Defense Minister Hoffmann: "If border security has to be strengthened fast, the state order to be maintained, diversionary and paratroop units be destroyed, important targets in our hinterland to be secured and operational freedom to be ensured for our united armed forces, every commander and staff in the NVA and in the group of Soviet armed forces also counts on the formations of our militia as an operationally strong and reliable comrade-in-arms, as an indispensable component of socialist national defense."⁹

Hoffmann's remark clearly reveals that in the case of war the militia are meant mainly to take care of defensive tasks in the hinterland, relieving the regular armed forces as an effective territorial army not subject to MBFR computation.

The African Commitment

The militia had shown internationalist responsibility, so claims Col Gen Scheibe, in seeking friendship and comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Union and in collaborating with the militias of the CSSR and Hungary.¹⁰ Furthermore there are indications that the military mission of the militia may also extend to GDR military aid to Africa. On 23 May 1980, Radio Brazzaville reported the visit of a militia delegation in Brazzaville. At that time the GDR guests had announced they were willing to train national headquarters personnel of the people's militia in the GDR. A GDR functionary, not identified by name, had intimated to Radio Brazzaville the GDR, within the scope of its collaboration with the People's Republic of Congo, would supply the people's militia with equipment and train Congolese militiamen in the GDR.

In July 1980 a draft agreement was signed on collaboration in 1981 and 1982.¹¹ GDR media said nothing about it, however. As a confirmation of the militia's African commitment might be taken the attendance at the campaign appeal of 24 September 1983 in East Berlin by the commander of the people's militia of the People's Republic of the Congo, Michel Ngakala.

Whereas the assumption of so-called internationalist responsibility by the militia, placed in the feuilleton, as it were, might have only propaganda value, the party's hopes are yet placed on them in case there should ever be internal trouble in the GDR. Then they would be the most significant instrument to prop up the government. That is why the party bestows on them such special solicitude.

The overdrawn enemy image caricatures and the reiterated demands to improve the status of training and political instruction rather suggest, however, that most of the militia members are by no means inveterate party followers. But joining the militia and taking on the personal sacrifices that come with it are necessary, however, if one wants to avoid occupational hazards.

FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 September 1983.
2. Ibid., 26 September 1983.
3. Josef Gabert/Roland Grau/Volker Steinke, "Thirty Years of the Worker's Militia in the GDR," BEITRAEGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ARBEITERBEWEGUNG, No 4, 1983, p 490. This essay, incidentally, contains the most detailed data given thus far by the GDR on the development of the militia from their founding to this day.
4. Cf. also Gunter Holzweissig, "Twenty-five Years Militia in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 10, 1978, pp 1026 ff, which also contains further bibliographic references.
5. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" [From My Life], p 201, East Berlin, 1980.

6. Herbert Scheibe, "Thirty Years Worker's Militia in the GDR," MILITAERWESEN, No 6, 1983, p 6.
7. Wilfried Dissmann contends it is so, to be sure, in his essay, "The Communist Military Dictatorship," p 157 in Jean-Paul Picaper, "DDR-Bild im Wandel [GDR Image Changing], Berlin, 1982, but can supply no cogent evidence. His reference to the militia training standards, which often merely are written down on paper, seems inadequate. In contrast to that Dietrich Wagner asserts, in his essay, "Organization, Mission and Military Place Value of the Worker's Militia in the GDR," (in EUROPÄISCHE WEHRKUNDE, No 7, 1981, p 317), that rigidly tying the militia to the SED already after the June 1953 riots conformed to the SED's greater need for securing its governmental primacy. Cf. also Dietrich Wagner, "The Worker's Militia in the GDR," BEITRÄGE ZUR KONFLIKTFORSCHUNG, No 4, 1981, pp 115 ff.
8. In the otherwise most worthwhile and instructive brochure of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, "Die paramilitärischen Verbände der DDR" [The Paramilitary Formations of the GDR], the contention is made militia discipline had been considerably reinforced. They were an elite in terms of the SED, even if there were some fighters who were only in it for career purposes. That brochure reproaches Joachim Nawrocki for having sought to show, in his book, "Bewaffnete Organe der DDR" [Armed Organs of the GDR], Berlin, 1979, pp 149 f, by reference to some cases of shirking, that the motivation of the militia members were poor all-around. If, however, one reads the texts of DER KÄMPFER carefully and relies on reports of personal experiences, as Nawrocki did, one cannot arrive at any other conclusion.
9. Radio DDR, 1 August 1978. The report on Hoffmann's speech in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 August 1978, conspicuously omits that passage.
10. Herbert Scheibe, op. cit., p 8.
11. Deutsche Welle Monitor Service, 28 May 1980.

5885

CSO: 2300/219

HUNGARY

OFFICIAL PRESS 'EXPLAINS' SACKING OF MOZGO VILAG EDITOR

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 4, 11 Dec 83

[Article, interspersed with excerpts from interviews, by Istvan Lazar: "Reflections and Interviews on MOZGO VILAG and the MOZGO VILAG Affair"]

[4 Dec 83 pp 20-21]

[Text] Perusing everything that appeared since 1971 under the title of MOZGO VILAG, I wish first of all to confront myself and to compare what I remember with what happened.

It started out as an anthology, and six issues appeared in all between 1971 and 1974. Istvan B. Szabo, Istvan Gall and Andras Simonffy edited them, two issues each, "on behalf of the KISZ Central Committee and the Association of Young Writers." It was still Jozsef Darvas who gave the anthology its send-off: "It would be a good thing if MOZGO VILAG would not remain merely a framework for publishing but would become also an open forum for the self-cleansing ideological and aesthetical debates that young literature and art sorely need." I remember correctly: a writing by Hajnoczy already in the first issue. But when I come to issue No 4, published in 1972, I suddenly recall Istvan Gall's grumbling. There is no denying: it was difficult at that time to publish a generation-oriented "periodical," whatever that formula was supposed to mean. This is what the irregular publication dates and the changing editors tell me. And the very existence of that issue No 4, the special issue on Dozsa, proves how much of the old reflex was still retained at that time. But a special issue devoted to such a topic will inevitably make rigid an irregularly appearing anthology that is intended to serve as an opportunity to publish for youths aspiring to advance in the intellectual world. No wonder that the anthology period lasted two more years, and that after issue No 6, which appeared in March of 1974, the breakthrough came only in December of 1975. That was when MOZGO VILAG appeared, now as a bimonthly journal, its cover designed by Karoly Schmal. It received its send-off from Janos Barabas on behalf of the KISZ, and from Gabor Garai on behalf of the Hungarian Writers' Association. But on this occasion it will perhaps not be bad manners to note how the new editor in chief, Miklos Veress, speaks out at the end of the journal, in an imagined dialog with the reader. This looseness of form remained one of the journal's virtues and was not yet unnatural at that time. Incidentally, the substantive part of this issue began with a short story by Esterhazy.

I must go through this material quickly, and therefore my brief stops might be chosen randomly. I am amazed only for a minute by the aesthetically wonderful sketch of Hosok Tere [Heroes' Square, in Budapest] by Miklos Melocco in issue No 1 of 1976. And in issue No 3 there is a brilliant essay, although difficult for me to comprehend, on inner space by the then practically unknown Erno Rubik, illustrated by his rough drawings. The openness exemplified by them and others is not only fresh but, to my mind, also unambiguously progressive; what I might object to here and there is only marginal.

In its No 1 issue of 1977, MOZGO VILAG announced the result of its contest for descriptive sociological essays. First prize was awarded to Sandor Tar. To the best of my knowledge, his prize-winning work has never been published. Being unfamiliar with the internal conditions of the editorial office, this seems to me in retrospect as the first indication foreshadowing controversy over the journal. This descriptive sociological essay by Sandor Tar is about Hungarians working abroad. Its publication presumably would have offended the host country. The fact is that within our fraternal camp we have not yet learned how to speak more critically of one another's domestic conditions. And it is likewise a fact that if we have not learned this, then we must do so because it could be to our mutual advantage. But we must take care not to let emotional elements worsen our relations where we have no substantive disputes, or where our more important disputes are of a different nature.

In issue No 2 of 1977, once again Erno Rubik. In the two-page illustrated personal column, a familiar stranger is grinning at us already then: 33 different arrangements of Rubik's cube, each one sporting arms, legs and a head. Next to them, in small letters, the "Patent pending" notice with the date of the patent application, 30 Jan 75. After Rubik, an exciting discussion of the program to develop the kitchens for prefabricated housing construction, by industrial artists, designers and social aesthetes. If earlier I mentioned indications foreshadowing controversy, here I must emphasize the "avant-garde" character with which I can always wholeheartedly agree. For it is only natural that industrial and economic innovation, too, is "avant-garde."

Soon thereafter, in issue No 4 of 1977, an engaging letter from Miklos Veress (incidentally, he appears frequently in the journal) about form and other matters, in which he writes: "Thus our answer to the questions of openness and bias can be also that socialist literature and art need MOZGO VILAG as their workshop, and not some vague coterie needs it for whom self-justification, rather than a consistent program or concept, is the decisive." Further on he mentions the need to let "noninimical" groups, circles and associations have their say so that, among other things, their views may clash constructively.

Perusing the old issues further, I encounter next the sharp and harsh descriptive sociological essays--partially still from the material submitted in the contest--that Gyorgy Berkovits and I selected by mutual agreement for the "Folyamatos jelen" (Continuous Present) volume in the "Magyarország felfedezése" (The Discovery of Hungary) series. In 1979, when seven issues appeared instead of the six planned, the seventh was a "special issue" to mark the VIT [World Youth Rally]. The most memorable in this issue are the group interviews with young people from the various branches of art. Including the group interview that fell through: the stage managers were unwilling to appear for the

interview. These round-table interviews produced also quite a few narrow-minded, petulant and one-sided views. But the very fact that they were group interviews ensured that they brought to the surface latent conflicts, both real and imagined ones, and thus we are hardly able to agree with the irritated objections of that time.

The "A to Z" column first appeared in the No 1 issue of 1981, providing a striking framework for the editors' pamphleteering responses. But soon thereafter, although there had been some portents of the coming change, the combined No 3-4 issue of 1981 was signed by a new editor in chief, Ferenc Kulin, and the masthead and an announcement entitled "To the Reader" spelled out other changes as well. But Kulin was no stranger. In the first issues of MOZGO VILAG as a journal, he was listed as the deputy editor in chief, and subsequently the masthead identified him as the editor in charge of critical reviews. His name was absent only in the issue preceding the change.

Meanwhile there had been also a "divorce," a separation from bed and board. The KISZ, which for nearly ten years had regarded the undertaking as its own, although amidst disputes, was now glad to be rid of the journal. It shared the journal's aspirations less and less and was averse to its taste. It was entitled to do what it wanted. But we wonder whether the KISZ is able to get along more amicably with several other youth journals, the shallowness of whose content and ideology Gyula Fekete criticized so convincingly at the national ideological conference and on the pages of ELET ES IRODALOM. At the same time, in its No 3-4 issue of 1981 that came out late, MOZGO VILAG started out with self-criticism: "We know that we can overcome our shortcomings only by insisting on self-correction." And further on: "... we did not anticipate that in the meantime criticism of the terms of reference for our work--of the problematic elements of social and cultural reality in the wider sense--would assume also emotional emphases such that on their basis many people would feel that our behavior has deviated even from our original intentions." Having looked back, the journal then looks ahead: "In our journal we will provide space for every humane artistic endeavor of aesthetical value, for every constructive theoretical experiment, and for every passion justifiably critical of society. But ... we will also argue with some of them. We will initiate debate whenever we encounter signs of 'fence-sitting' in either ideology or public opinion, and also when reference to the principles of socialism signals merely conservatism and doctrinarianism." An excellent program.

In the spring of 1981, the journal changed owners repeatedly. Why and with what mission did the Newspaper Publishing Enterprise (Lapkiado Vallalat) take over MOZGO VILAG?

Norbert Siklosi, the director general: "The journal was transferred at that time from the KISZ to the supervision of the Ministry of Culture and Education, and therefore we took over from the Youth Publishing Enterprise (Ifjusagi Lapkiado). We are publishing 400 newspapers and magazines, including a significant proportion of the cultural journals. We welcomed the request, because it increased the number of our more important titles. Although a new editor in chief was appointed, all the other members of the editorial office remained in place, and subsequently the staff even increased. We strived to raise salaries and the budget for fees above the average level. At a joint meeting after the

first few months, the staff spoke with appreciation of our cooperation. The more so because earlier MOZGO VILAG could barely be seen on the streets, but we were able to end, at least for a time, the shortage psychosis that developed in conjunction with the journal.

	<u>Run (copies)</u>	<u>Subscribers</u>	<u>Street sales</u>
Spring of 1981	6,800	2,100	4,100
1982	11,200	2,600	7,900
Autumn of 1983	13,600	6,000	6,600

"To anyone familiar with publishing it will be meaningful that we increased our run at a rate such that in early 1982 our returns or unsold copies sometimes amounted to 15 percent. If there were disputes over the content of the journal, they were never accompanied by a curtailment of circulation, although in the meantime it became difficult to ensure the supply of paper. Later, of course, returns dropped to a permissible 5 percent and then even below 1 to 2 percent. Thus MOZGO VILAG was able to grow rapidly, despite the fact that the production cost of a copy was 37 forints. Since the journal was priced at 15 forints a copy, of which 10 forints was our revenue, the Ministry of Culture and Education provided a subsidy of 17 forints per copy or a total of 4.0 million forints annually. Because of the relatively small run, this subsidy cannot readily be reduced in the case of journals of this type; the more copies we print, the greater the loss. Incidentally, Ferenc Kulin was here the other day and said that the only thing he was never disappointed in from the beginning to the very end was the cooperation between the publisher and the editorial office."

Thus there was a salvaging attempt in 1981, but soon--after a brief period of grace--complaints against the journal again multiplied. Perhaps more patience had been necessary sooner? And perhaps Kulin took over too late from Miklos Veress who had become weary of the external and internal struggles and had been under pressure also from his own staff? Was he on a runaway wagon on which he did not even have an opportunity to get a firm grip of the reins? Leafing through the issues month after month, I myself find few of the published items objectionable in their content. What surprises me more is the general gloominess. The frequency of impatient, declarative and esoteric things intended for an initiated few. Experiment deviated into experimentation, debate into ridicule, investigation into shock or a peculiar neo-Gabor Goreism (for example, when reproduction of the primitive manner of speech was overemphasized and no longer served as characterization). A caste mentality prevailed. Instead of teasing the bourgeoisie as at one time, the teasing of various officials seems to have become the objective. For example, on the posters that wasted expensive coated paper. Or take the review of Gyula Antalfy's book in issue No 6 of 1983, perhaps astonishing in its anger and tone. Even if it is a fault of book reviews these days that they are not critical enough, was it necessary to start with Antalfy's "Reformkori magyar varosrajzok" (Sketches of Hungarian Cities From the Period of the Reformation) in spraying the oil of vitriol, on the basis of arguments that incidentally are highly debatable? Paradoxically it is perhaps better to cite such a marginal item as an example, because it can better illustrate the general tendency than the major texts could.

Editing a journal is a special art. One learns gradually that an issue is something more than the sum total of the items appearing in it, just as by

comparison a string of peppers is something more than the peppers themselves and the twine that holds them together. It is also a relationship. A good journal improves even the bad articles appearing in it; and in a bad journal even the good writings become subordinate to perhaps just the half drop that spoils the entire vat and turns it into vinegar.

Meanwhile cultural policy itself was learning the new mode and orchestration of management and the establishment of a two-way partnership with the intellectual workshops. It devoted an astounding amount of time and effort specifically to this journal. Was it running after its money? Having assumed new responsibility for MOZGO VILAG in 1981, did it long attempt to avoid having to admit that the change had not produced the results it had hoped for and expected? But in late September of 1983, when the deputy minister of culture and education concerned gave an interview to ELET ES IRODALOM, he already said the following.

Dezso Toth: "The useful lessons of MOZGO VILAG's investigative reporting are becoming overshadowed increasingly by its pessimistically distorting and demoralizing effect. Due to misinterpretation of the situation and illusory assessment of the conditions, the justifiable reform demands of receptiveness for the new and of willingness to take action are changing into reform demagoguery or suggestions of lethargy and inability to act; and the tone of warranted social criticism is alternating with the spreading of mistrust, and often with nasty remarks intended to sway public opinion. The journal's entire image of society is one-sided: it does not draw on the facts of the achieved historical results; in its search for ways of solving the explored and formulated difficulties, socialism's real values and existing possibilities play a subordinate role, and the resources stemming from our belonging to the socialist camp and our internationalist interests are disregarded. Therefore this depressing dissatisfaction seeks occasional points of reference in revising certain questions of our history between the two world wars or since the liberation; or it updates, with the same intention, even certain periods and aspirations of our earlier history, in conflict with the authentic and increasingly more discerning Marxist assessments. The journal presumes to be building the unity of Hungarian literature by excluding the class approach, and occasionally by "justifying" nationalist views. In the course of supporting artistic modernness and experimentation, at the expense of art's humanistic role, it opens the way for extreme and occasionally dilettante fashions, without any criticism. These phenomena in sum already indicate that the representation of Marxism by the editorial office has been relegated to the background, and that the journal's cultural-policy role has changed ideologically. State supervision has therefore been forced to relieve Comrade Ferenc Kulin as editor in chief."

The standpoint is much more detailed, and here I have presented only its gist. But in the course of my group interview, I have asked also the editor in chief of ELET ES IRODALOM, a literary historian, for his opinion.

Imre Bata: "Several interesting lessons can be drawn from what happened to MOZGO VILAG and around it. This journal represented an important stratum of the intelligentsia. It manifested the intellectual state of youth, of a significant portion of our youth. UJ HANG and UJ IRAS had been similar undertakings earlier. UJ HANG was short-lived. It became a victim of the historical

cataclysm, in the same way as almost all of literature's one-time system of institutions. UJ IRAS in its turn lost its stratum character before it was able to express the youth of the period, the 1960's. MOZGO VILAG is the first journal in our cultural history that has been able to remain the journal of a stratum to this day. Indeed, it has become controversial partially because it has insisted on maintaining its individuality, the content of which has been the mentality of its stratum. What the journal lacked was specifically its self-awareness. Its readiness to be different, its self-irony and self-criticism. The editorial office worked in the belief that the stratum wanted the journal. And a significant stratum of our youth did indeed want the journal because it represented the spirit of opposition. The generation's self-centeredness, similar to other kinds of self-centeredness, kept the journal going. And thus all other kinds of self-centeredness also found a home in MOZGO VILAG. The journal seems to have been unable to endure cultural policy's criticism. Actually this criticism has been slow in coming, and cultural policy has been tolerant. Youth does need tolerance and will continue to need it in the future as well. For this very reason we should know what caused the editorial office's transformation: it stiffened into rebellious and dissentious self-centeredness. The journal belonged to the generation but was already accepting any work that expressed self-centeredness. This is what the journal retained from its youth. For youth is a highly transitional state. MOZGO VILAG is in its ninth year of publication. The period during which it had the opportunity to express the youth of the late 1970's and early 1980's can be estimated at about 5 years. The meaning of this term will be meaningful for the future researcher who eventually will be investigating our period. But the journal's transformation is necessary. The young people at one time were starting journals that survived for two or three issues. Similar undertakings by young people in today's paternalistically provident society are more enduring. But this too must change, because change follows also from the nature of the condition, of youth as a transitional state."

However, Imre Bata's calm analysis that also spans historical perspectives does not appear to gain acceptance in the very environment where MOZGO VILAG has met with the keenest response, agreement and sympathy; in the environment in which most of the readership belongs that has boosted the demand for the journal. To the contrary. The news of Ferenc Kulin's replacement has produced a stormy reaction. Let us disregard for the time being the different motives and quality of this reaction. The more so because even the spray from the waves is considerable. News and rumors, information and misinformation are churning, partially the way they normally do, and partially in accordance with certain intentions.

According to rumors that were picked up also by RFE [Radio Free Europe], for example, a meeting of the ELTE [Lorand Eotvos University] student council adopted a resolution protesting the MOZGO VILAG affair. What does the secretary of the KISZ Committee at ELTE have to say about this?

Imre Nagy: "I know of this rumor and have heard it at several levels. As most rumors, it too is false. The following happened. The university's student council met on 18 October. The main item of discussion was the long-range plan of reforming higher education, which had been submitted for national debate. After the discussion of this plan, there followed several other items that were

on the agenda, e.g. tuitions. Then an opportunity was provided to raise other issues as well. These too were mostly university matters, such as whether the Faculty of Philosophy should offer also a major in the Romany language. After several similar questions, one of the girls requested the floor. Instead of contributing to the debate, she read an appeal and added that some of them felt a protest should be issued because of MOZGO VILAG, and who wanted to do so could sign the protest in the last row. Thus the speaker did not present a motion that the student council adopt a resolution expressing its standpoint on the matter. Subsequent speakers--there were perhaps three of them--spoke of other matters but also dwelt briefly on the MOZGO VILAG issue and said that they completely disagreed with a protest in this form. And the student council refused to discuss the matter, with such an overwhelming majority that it was not even necessary to count the votes. In rejecting the collection of signatures, the aforementioned three speakers did not condemn anyone who might sign; they merely said that they would not sign. Perhaps this is what the organizers of the campaign used or abused--it is difficult to decide which--when they posted the appeal at many places, with an introductory statement to the effect that the appeal had been read at the meeting of the ELTE student council. Well, it had indeed been read there. But some of the KISZ secretaries at higher educational institutions who called me up after reading the posted appeal had interpreted it as a resolution that the meeting of KISZ delegates at ELTE had adopted. The fact is that the text of the appeal had been read at the meeting of the ELTE student council; but it just was not adopted as a resolution."

This was the first attempt at ELTE. And what about the second one? What happened Tuesday morning, the 25th of October, at the Faculty of Philosophy?

Dean Ferenc Poloskei: "As any other day, I was in the dean's office. That morning we received phone calls from several universities and colleges, about posters that called for a protest in the MOZGO VILAG affair, giving 11 am to 6 pm that day and the mezzanine floor of our faculty as the time and place for collecting signatures. I considered this a false alarm or some childish prank. There were no such posters at our faculty. Around 11 am I nevertheless went down to the mezzanine floor, in the company of one of the deputy deans and of the manager of the dean's office. To our surprise, we saw a bigger crowd than usual, and also the posters that were now displayed. One or two students were distributing copies of the appeal, with sheets for signatures, to small groups mostly unfamiliar to us. I informed them that I had not given permission for any such interuniversity drive in our faculty building and ordered them to finish the collection of signatures and leave within 10 minutes. We collected the sheets and took down the posters. Within 10 minutes order was restored on our mezzanine floor. At the same time I gave instructions to close gate A, and to admit through gate B only persons who identified themselves with ELTE student identity cards. The doormen and custodians checked the identity cards. Contrary to rumors, there was not a single policeman in the entire building, to the best of my knowledge. But it seems that RFE agents were there. They either sent entirely false reports on what happened, or the addressee embellished the received reports. This is only natural. It should not cause a sensation in any part of the world if the president or a dean of a university refuses permission for something or bans it. It is common knowledge that the presidents, rectors and deans of Western universities wield very wide authority

within the limits of the university's autonomy and of central regulations. (To refute the widely held belief, I wish to note that our students majoring in foreign languages, who are familiar with the internal regulations of foreign universities, have steered clear of the disruptions at the Faculty of Philosophy. The participants in the commotion were mostly students who had never been to a foreign university.) At the same time I would loath to consider this affair divorced from our entire work of instruction and scientific research at the Faculty of Philosophy. Here I would mention first of all the fostering of good traditions, the freedom of research and inquiry, and the guaranteed opportunity for frank debate; in other words, the openness of the faculty in the course of the lectures, seminars, and scientific programs of domestic and even international significance that are being held almost daily. (Naturally, anyone is free to express his opinion before these and other forums, and for decades nobody has been brought to account for doing so.) However, this openness must not disrupt order at the university. The faculty building must not become a thoroughfare; the students' cafeteria cannot be a substitute for the old Belvaros Cafe; and the narrow stairwell cannot be a meeting place for every university student in Budapest. To the contrary, the maintenance of order and peaceful conditions in the faculty building is a prerequisite for preserving our openness. Let me still note two lessons: First, the organizers of this drive complied with the dean's orders. Secondly, the universities--and hence also our faculty--have been lacking for decades a code of conduct that spells out the rights and obligations of teachers and students, and which every freshman should get at the time of his enrollment."

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[Text] The third round at ELTE occurred in the evening of 28 October. This was not the first time that Dezso Toth, deputy minister of culture and education, took up the gauntlet. Already his quoted interview had been a departure from the established practice of making a change in editors in chief known in the masthead, in the personnel news or in a brief commentary, regardless of the reason (retirement, reassignment to other work, or unsuitability) for the old editor's in chief departure. It was not the special importance of the affair, of Ferenc Kulin's dismissal, that made the frank and reasoned justification necessary. Then what did? It is a special irony of fate that specifically when this personnel decision had been preceded by unusually lengthy debates and attempts at persuasion--in the course of which MOZGO VILAG had been repeatedly given opportunity to present its standpoint and to work out a mutually acceptable program, or to revert to the program that the journal itself had formulated and published at one time--the change of editors in chief after these efforts failed began to be interpreted as a flagrant sign of intolerance and rigidity. In the meantime the KISZ members at ELTE and the Newspaper Publishing Enterprise were holding a youth press festival. As one of the invited lecturers at this festival, I found that some of its events were accompanied by a lack of interest that bordered on boycott, presumably because of the MOZGO VILAG affair. The same could not be said of a scheduled meeting with the deputy minister, entitled "Consistency or Tightening?" and announced even by well-informed Radio Free Europe the previous evening.

Dezso Toth: "I feel that the entire MOZGO VILAG affair has actually outgrown its own circle of phenomena; and that, beyond a certain point, everything

happening around and in conjunction with MOZGO VILAG cannot even be linked to the behavior of the dismissed editor in chief, or to that of the editorial staff who more or less have declared their solidarity with him. I partially have direct knowledge of the grudges and reservations held by the editor in chief and the editorial staff, and partially am able to reconstruct them. Considering everything--including the statement that Kulin gave a Western news agency, or even that the standpoint of the editorial staff regarding a published issue has become entirely rigid--I still feel that this reflex of the editorial office is overblown and a far cry from what various domestic and foreign forces have attempted to make of this affair. MOZGO VILAG has been very bad for some time. It has become the tool, pretext and mouthpiece of intentions and aspirations that, I suspect and am even certain, are foreign also to the journal itself. As I know the editorial staff--the former editorial staff, I might add--and its individual members, I find it difficult to imagine that they associate themselves with what others have said under the pretext of MOZGO VILAG, with the extreme and provocative behavior that denies even the feasibility and desirability of a dialog, and which politically not only appears to be in opposition but is actually dissenting. Not even if this big hullabaloo is allegedly in "their" support. For the meeting we deplore was not about MOZGO VILAG. If this is what they wanted to debate, they should have debated the reasons contained in my interview. It is not quite an everyday occurrence when the Ministry of Culture and Education finds it necessary to thoroughly explain--although not in an exposition similar to that of a scientific study--the reasons why it is relieving an editor in chief. But that certain protest on which signatures were being collected hardly said more than that the signatories did not agree with this. I had expected an exchange of views on our reasons and consideration, or at least closely along these lines, and that also the broader issues of cultural policy would be raised. Which would have been proper and understandable. But all this did not interest anyone there at all. At the same time I would like to emphasize the following: what happened was not that 300 to 400 young people gathered to applaud the most extreme speeches. For with time the public sentiment stirred up against cultural policy subsided, slightly but perceptibly. From which it follows that this public sentiment was formed without knowing the considerations of the 'other side.' Therefore the question arises as to why had the university instructors, the departments of Marxism and the KISZ passively taken cognizance of the opposition among the students to the decision concerning MOZGO VILAG. Why had they sublet the handling of this obviously painful question to a possible meeting during press week? Evidently this gave certain elements, foreign not only to the university but to socialism as well, the opportunity to take over the organization of the meeting and the preparation of the mood for it. Had the university itself organized such a meeting, the few prominent speakers there would have been guests and not the hosts, and thus the initiative to collect signatures would have been doomed. Then, of course, Radio Free Europe would not have provided any propaganda for the meeting. However, for me this meeting has been edifying also in the sense that it is not enough to simply circumscribe the limits today of the freedom of the press and freedom of speech, or what are today the relative roles of the state and social organs. It is necessary to talk also about how the present situation developed, and especially

about the present international and domestic--economic and other--conditions and prospects of progressively changing the present situation and developing it further; about what its rhythm is and why. Unless we provide carefully weighed and frank answers to questions of this kind, others will formulate answers instead of us but to their own liking, directing them--among others--to the young people who justifiably entertain such questions, and who at the same time openly await and intelligently receive the answers of cultural policy."

(Subsequently Radio Free Europe reported the debate, in its own fashion, in two of its broadcasts. The basis of its program was a tape recording of the meeting that contained alleged gaps. We wonder where. Naturally, where it is convenient for them, where they want to doctor what was said. A good example of this is the statement made in advance, to the effect that the last half hour of the debate could not be reproduced suitably from their tape. Of course not. That was the half hour during which Dezso Toth's arguments already achieved a turning point in the basic mood of the debate.)

Is the MOZGO VILAG affair a pretext? When seeking proof to confirm or refute this question, there are two things we must consider: Why and in what medium, and who caused the waves in recent weeks and among whom? Let us take the first part of this question. Those who were the loudest in the 28 October debate had just held a lively internal debate on the present possibilities and prospects of "dissent," of oppositionary behavior and action in Hungary. Unable to disregard the striking facts of progress and the decisive nature of the numerous opportunity coordinates, they were forced to admit with a degree of common sense that their base was narrow, that they were unable to provide realistic alternatives, and that their room for action was marginal. And if we examine the objectives of some of their earlier drives; how their social experiment, code-named SZETA [Foundation for the Support of the Poor], came to resemble the charity drive chaired by the governor's wife during the Horthy era; or how members of the opposition who gradually are abandoning Marxism are teaming up with fringe groups that are forming only on the periphery of even church and religious life--it again becomes completely understandable that for them the crisis of MOZGO VILAG, which is a vehicle for much that is progressive but has stiffened into opposition in the manner outlined in the analyses above, has been a godsend. The impact of their previous drives has been limited to a narrow strip within society. Their basis of reference and identified targets --for example, the poor or the religious fringe groups--live so widely scattered within society that they are almost impossible to reach. The drives and their targets barely met, and already this ensured that the response would die down quickly. The MOZGO VILAG affair, however, has been localized from the outset and is limited mostly to a typical narrow circle of a few thousand youths. In the program involving the journal, therefore, action and target remain in the same band. And of special importance within this band is the circle of Budapest university students and particularly of the students at the Faculty of Philosophy.

Let us now examine the question of in what medium, among whom. The analysis that I received from a university student, who wishes to remain anonymous, ties in with what Dezso Toth said about MOZGO VILAG's not being the subject of his debate. Weeks have elapsed since that evening, but the mood at the university

remains irritable, polarized and lively. The makeup of this mood includes also students who previously were not very active in social and political matters. My student, too, said that the issue was not, or not just, MOZGO VILAG. It was only a pretext. There was some general anxiety, difficult to specify, among students who, constitutionally or because of their studies, were more interested in social problems and were more sensitive to them. And practically anything could have ruffled feathers in the above manner.

Which, in my opinion, should not be dramatized, but should be perceived, interpreted and analyzed. If I had to guess, I could come up with several reasons for the irritable and polarized mood. The threat to our peace, the persistence of our economic problems, the slow unfolding of our economic reform, and the harmful side effects of the reform that not even its slowness can eliminate. And the state of our universities that warrants and even necessitates long-range development, the plan for which has recently been submitted for wide public debate: I seek the set of reasons that could serve as the starting point for a discerning explanation in and around the permanent crisis in teaching ideological subjects and in indoctrination that is particularly difficult among university students. At the same time we must also realize that it would be more readily understandable if today the young replacements for the technical intelligentsia were irritable, and not the Faculty of Philosophy or a part of it, since the prestige of its graduates and of the young replacements that it trains conforms more closely to their role in society--sometimes they might even be "suffering" from too much esteem!--than in the case of the technical intellectuals whose financial and moral appreciation has been lagging in many respects, or of the agricultural intellectuals who lack mainly prestige.

But let us revert to MOZGO VILAG. Do not the narrowing view and intolerance, the excess of one type of avant-garde who increasingly dominated the journal and the intolerance they showed in the lengthy debates, stem from the same missed step, the same confusion in interpreting the situation? For in that case the point in question is somehow the same, regardless of whether MOZGO VILAG is the subject of discussion or merely serves as a pretext. I do not regard by any means as smaller or less significant the problems that the journal's editorial staff, writers and present irritated readership see as clouds on their horizon. But those problems are elsewhere, their effects are felt in different dimensions, and they must be handled differently. The economy's problem is not only how strongly the reform economists are able to assert themselves, but also the drought. Although one might attempt to seek a secret link even between the aforementioned two factors, one must see not only the debates on Dimitrov Square but also the Babolna state farm's chicken hatcheries as rare but nonetheless existing dots on the map of Hungary's innovative successes that extend from the Arab countries to the Soviet Union. Cultural policy must or should closely monitor and guide not only one or two intellectually oriented stratum journals' manifestations that unquestionably are indispensable in forming the elite, exploring the present situation and outlining the picture of the future, but the several hundred or thousand other cultural forums as well. Here again it would be worthwhile to assess the importance of our own tasks more accurately, not forgetting where the major and auxiliary axes are imbedded about which the world at large and our own smaller world rotate. In the life of the provinces we can and should explore not only the soot of recent or more

distant historical decades--"deposited hard and thick, like guano"--in everyday awareness, in the spheres of public and private life, in the minds. Today the country scintillates so much spontaneity, so many hard-won own solutions, and brings so much sacrifice and ingenuity into adapting local conditions to local needs, that anyone who notices only the striking penetrations of the distant and not so distant past, and the depressing signs of provincialism or of preoccupation with working diligently for one's self, should be subjected to the stresses of awakening from a Rip van Winkle-like long dream, so that he will see also the increasingly stronger strands of progressive elements in the coils of the process. Policy does not only replace an editor in chief. In addition to very many other things that should be noted, policy is also striving to reopen the narrowed and occasionally clogged channels of the citizens' participation, through electoral reform and nominating more than one candidate, for example. Generally speaking, beyond the range of what policy prohibits and what it tolerates, we might occasionally take a closer look at what policy supports.

But meanwhile the dilemma that existed already in 1971 when the anthology was established, and also in 1975 when the first issue of MOZGO VILAG as a journal appeared, remains unchanged; or if it has changed a shade or two, it still remains as unsolvable as before. Regardless of how obvious it is from the outside or from above that the fundamental interests of every generation are the same in our country, the interests, intentions and ideas still differ considerably; and in the final outcome even the common interest might require different articulation or even a polarized shifting of emphasis. And no matter how calmly and discerningly we write from the outside or from above about the interests of successive generations being identical or different, the experiencing of all this differs by generations. Every individual's personal experience in the course of growing up and becoming conscious of the world around him also influences how he sees the minor and major facts of our historical development, the rate of our progress, the causes and justification of our sudden halts, and his own place in the process and that of his own generation. And what time averages and generally balances on the scale of entire society remains existentially unique for each individual. What statistics crudely lumps together is nonrecurring and more dramatic for the individual experiencing it. Perhaps the ideal solution would be to let all this be reflected in our publications--as it is indeed reflected in most of our newspapers--so that the different or even arguing approaches may be heard before the same forum. But the permanent difficulties of mutual understanding, of constructively exchanging views, warn us that the one-time attempt to establish MOZGO VILAG must not be abandoned, not even if the journal is in a very difficult stage at present. The journal could cease or change into something entirely different, but a substantial portion of what has kept it alive would live on as a problem even then. It is a great pity that the generation interests and emphases that exist and are real, and hence are recognizable, have now broken through turbidly, whipped into foam by other motives and passions.

This is how I see the narrower and the wider "textual environment" in which every word is said about and around MOZGO VILAG. If it is said at all. For my objective was, or would have been, to hold a group interview about MOZGO VILAG, on how its affairs stood, or appeared to stand, in mid-November of 1983.

But the group is very lopsided. One section that is very much involved has chosen the discipline of complete or almost complete silence.

Are the subjectively understandable bitterness and defiant reaction a sufficient explanation for this silence? I have heard, among other things, that they were remaining silent because what they had to say would not appear in print anyhow. Perhaps they could have put this to a test. Taking the interviewer at his word to see whether he would publish the answers to his questions. Silence is a double-edged sword not only because many different passions and intentions can be attributed to it. It is a double-edged sword also because, being a type of boycott, it does not mean merely that the person who would have been interviewed does not answer questions. It also means that the interested reader is disappointed. The discipline of silence has defrauded not only me, the direct interviewer. It has defrauded also the client, the existing or potential reader for whom we are interviewing or putting out a journal. Failure to turn to him, wherever and in whatever way possible, is a blow to the most important partner. I see the realization of this in what follows below, in spite of everything, from Ferenc Kulin.

Ferenc Kulin, who was the journal's editor in chief from 1981 to 1983, refused to be interviewed. But he was willing to meet for a lengthy and meaningful discussion. In it he described how he saw MOZGO VILAG's entire history, including the latest period that ended with his dismissal. As the final but forward-looking summary of this discussion we may regard his view that it might be a good idea to dispense with maintaining the semblance of continuity and to replace MOZGO VILAG with an entirely new journal. If in the coming months or next half year the new journal proved able to create a new interesting aspect and assert itself, through everything it offered, a substantial proportion of MOZGO VILAG's present authors would presumably support the work of the new journal, with manuscripts. He perhaps was not mistaken in attaching importance to this. The dropout or lockout of this circle of authors from publishing would be to everyone's detriment, including the authors themselves, the readership and intellectual life in general.

The idea that the journal should continue under a new title or be replaced by a new journal was advanced by others as well, and in a different manner. But this is not merely a matter of wanting or declaring continuity or discontinuity. On the news exchanges, where the market for news about MOZGO VILAG has been lively during the past few weeks, one can hear that in this particular case a MOZGO VILAG published in Paris might appear and claim to be the successor of the former one in Budapest. On the other hand, nonchalant abandonment of the old title would appear to support the contention that the new journal would not be worth mentioning, because allegedly the assigned role of the new editorial staff is to break with the past, and obviously not to seek what can and should be continued. These predictions are so rife that for the time being a break is what can really be perceived.

For example, the well-known industrial designer who designed MOZGO VILAG's characteristic cover and "maintained" it with "moving" issues in different colors, and with a line on the journal's spine that moved further each month, confirmed the news about his intentions in response to my first question over

the phone. We agreed to a meeting at which he would reveal his reason. He later changed his mind nevertheless and decided not to give an interview, because everything he had to say could be summed up in a single sentence.

Karoly Schmal: "Since the journal's editors have resigned, I am supporting them by objecting to further use of the cover I have designed."

His standpoint or its enforcement does not have much basis in copyright law, but the fact that this variable cover repeatedly requires the designer's manual cooperation could be decisive. This has probably decided at the very outset the dilemma of the cover's continuity, a dilemma which thus has sunk from the lofty level of legal principles closer to the ground.

None of the others from the MOZGO VILAG circle whom I contacted was willing to participate in the group interview. I do not know how identical their motives are, and how close is their unity of action. I do not know why and to what extent they are unanimous in their view that the tactics of silence best suits their objectives and interests. Are they certain that in this way their conduct will not merge into something from which they should distance themselves as something truly foreign to them? Or perhaps their front is not so solid, and they wanted to avoid revealing this through answers that are not entirely in tune? Because silence lends itself better to mutual control than any statements would? And speaking of silence and not revealing things, this is how the director general of the Newspaper Publishing Enterprise concluded his interview.

Norbert Siklosi: "And finally something I do not understand. Now the members of the MOZGO VILAG editorial staff are demanding Ferenc Kulin's reinstatement and have backed up this demand with their collective resignation. Let us leave aside for the time being the question of which organs have the duty of designating the editor in chief. When it was announced at a meeting of the editorial staff, from which he happened to be absent, that Ferenc Kulin had been relieved of his duties and Julianna P. Szucs had been appointed to replace him, the question arose of who should be the interim editor in chief, because it would take several months until the new editor in chief could submit the material for the first issue coming out under her name, and the journal would have to appear also during this interregnum. As the head of the publishing enterprise, I proposed that Ferenc Kulin edit also these few interim issues. But the MOZGO VILAG collective put this proposal to a vote, rejected Kulin and placed its confidence in Jozsef Tamas Remenyi. And this is what I fail to understand. Ferenc Kulin is good enough to support ostentatiously, and even 'to take his case to the streets' so to speak. But he is not good enough to produce three or four more issues? And what sheds special light on this situation is that Kulin learned about all this afterwards, from me."

What else is there? We could make a detour to Paris. For the question of Hungarian avant-garde art, and in its context the MOZGO VILAG affair were brought up also during Culture and Education Minister Bela Kopeczi's visit there. But Paris is hardened and even a professional in all real, neo- and post-avantguard matters, and partially the French hosts themselves calmly warded off the "internationalization" of the conflict. Let us therefore stay at home. The

editorial staff has resigned. There are speculations and claims on the news exchange regarding the boycott intentions of the present and potential circle of authors. But as he told me, and you have read above, Ferenc Kulin personally has distanced himself from this boycott.

And what about those who believe, together with the new editor in chief who has accepted the post, that they have a reason and a right to join in the continued renewal of the undertaking? They find themselves under great pressure. They are hemmed in by telephone calls, messages and open warnings to discourage and dissuade them. These attempts succeed in some cases, but fail in others. If someone declares well in advance that the new MOZGO VILAG can only be a failure, uncritical, sectarian or something similar, he will find it safest to attempt to arrange things so that his prophecy will be fulfilled. The means at his disposal are numerous: influence, dissuasion, "good advice," warning, denunciation, appeal to a sense of solidarity, and so on. The exclusion of publicity, and the fact that the concealed modes of influencing are difficult to reconstruct and uncover make the use of such means that much easier. It would have been good to depict here also the sphere of what has happened and is happening. But I have decided against doing so in part because of space limitations, in part because of the difficulties of dispelling the obscurity--the ball is always in the initiator's field--and partially because it would not feel right to speak about the cases of those who have fallen into a trap merely because of their loyalty. Instead, let us close the group that remains incomplete, contrary to our plans. With what policy and practical program, and with what feelings is the new editor in chief beginning her work?

Julianna P. Szucs: "For a working hypothesis I can start out only from what kind of journal is needed, and not from what MOZGO VILAG has been like up to now.

"There is a need for a journal that assumes that a new generation has grown up, one with a character of its own and, in comparison with the previous generations, with different experiences and hardened to a different degree. Consequently, the tastes of this new generation likewise differ. This 'difference' is meaningful and able to evolve only if this character clashes with the dogmas or mistakes, and truths or attractions of the previous generations. It may clash, but it may also agree. For it is an extremely disadvantageous position to represent a generation's standpoint by playing tag, sensing the presence of a world different from your own only when it has slapped you hard on the back. I expect the confrontation of views to reveal that there are at least as many passages as there are barriers between the individual age groups, and that in their cross section those age groups are by no means homogeneous.

"There is a need for a journal that will not represent a single intellectual stratum, identified by birth certificates, but will attempt to remodel to the best of its ability the intellectual topography of present-day Hungary. In other words, I would guard the journal not only against the intensive philosophical approach, but also against the forces that claim exclusive right to represent an existing interest. From this widening of the circle I expect that it will become possible to form, at least in principle and on the basis of a new intellectual popular front, an alliance of the wagon-barricaded camps that

do exit even though their existence is not admitted. And should the occasion arise, to demonstratively break off relations with any fellow travelers who are jeopardizing this alliance.

"There is a need for a journal that will respond sensitively not only to the changes within Hungarian society, but also to the actual changes in the consumption of culture. For I regard as impossible today a forum that seeks and wishes to generate intellectual excitement but fails to take into consideration the basic experience of its host environment and the regrettable polarization of elite culture and mass culture. Writers know all this the best, and primarily they must express the new potential role of literature, and occasionally the defeats that literature suffers from other forms of consciousness. But everyone concerned with society and culture must have his say. From the expansion of form and from the investigation of culture in its longitudinal section I expect two things: on the one hand, more emphatically undertaken criticism; and on the other hand, prevention of the possibility that an undesirable political message might gain publicity under the pretext of new art that is coping with the difficulties of decoding. From consistent observation of rationality and programmed avoidance of obscurity I expect an end to opportunities for misinterpretation. If the message is unpleasant or erroneous, it should not be attributable to 'modern art.' The reception of new art is already fraught with problems; it should not be burdened also with a political ballast and it should not compromise the maturing cultural processes.

"There is a need for a journal that will seek relatives, in the neighboring countries as well as farther abroad. Here I have in mind not only Hungarian-speaking relatives, but all the forums with which we can honestly claim fellowship, on the basis of our aspirations. The "Nagyvilag" ["Wide World" column] model--i.e., translations of plays, poetry and prose--is not the only possible way of establishing relations. There is also the illustrated supplement, with everything that serves as the everyday scenery and setting for verbal culture. From this more interdisciplinary and more internationalist orientation I expect that the journal will be able to choose freely and meaningfully among the progressive phenomena and will not be committed to a single chain of attraction. For I regard as a serious omission the neglect and exclusion of Latin Europe and Latin America from the work aiming to uncover the reserves of positive and progressive forces.

"And last but not least, there is a need for a journal that will be able to advance the idea of democratic reform, without disregarding the mutual relationship and different traditions of the already existing supporters of this cause and the ones that have yet to be won over; and it will do all this in the interest of focusing attention on the essential in art, political writing, and essays. The journal I dream of is somewhere between the one-time GONDOLAT and KORUNK, but I would not mind if it resembled today's VALOSAG."

The appointed editor in chief wrote all this down--as a sort of summary for her own use--when she accepted the appointment and outlined her program. Since then she too must have perceived the events closely or remotely associated with this affair.

Julianna P. Szucs: "I feel that the actions which have taken place under the influence of the misinformed other public confirm even more emphatically the need to implement the program outlined above. All the forces for whom it is truly indifferent whether or not there is a value-centered and critical journal have now been able to move into action. The more so because the circulating rumors, half-truths and fabrications provide a medium that is suitable for generating a political mood even where none existed previously; for creating tensions even where harmony prevailed earlier. Continuity of MOZGO VILAG's title is important also because it symbolizes much more than what a problem-plagued interest group can be allowed to drag down with itself. If we were to miss the opportunity to salvage what has been formulated in MOZGO VILAG in a programmed manner but got lost in practice, we would be betraying a generation's need for a circle of problems and a task. In the final analysis, we would not be believing in the continuity of real values. Therefore I hope that after an interregnum, the mood of which is unfortunately polarized, this need will win for itself a place under the sun. Instead of using direct political means, we intend to engage in politics with the written word, with works."

This is where we stood, and this is what I ended my article with around the 20th of November. But in the meantime the plan to have the old editorial staff produce also the December issue of MOZGO VILAG after the November one, but this time without Ferenc Kulin, has fallen through. In the heated atmosphere, this is perhaps understandable. The one-month interregnum between the old and the new MOZGO VILAG that has evolved in this manner will have to be bridged somehow.

At the same time--and this again indicates what the heated atmosphere means--leaflets have appeared at universities and colleges recruiting protestors in support of the dismissed editor in chief and urging speeches at student-council, party and KISZ meetings in protest against administrative interference in cultural life. Finally, the leaflets also call on purchasers, readers and authors to boycott the new MOZGO VILAG.

A literary boycott? All I can say is that it usually fails. Even after much greater traumas. There is no denying that writers are like this. They long for a dialog. Thus anyone advocating a literary boycott is moving, it seems, on unfamiliar ground. The nature of the medium into which he has crossed over is unfamiliar to him. On the other hand, what purpose can a boycott serve? To "punish" policy? But the whiplash falls elsewhere. It is the readership that would be forced into an intellectual reducing diet. And this is already the dubious "policy" of "the more it hurts, the better." Instead of assessing this policy, let me close my reflections and series of interviews with a simple announcement that is to the point:

The manuscripts of the first issue of MOZGO VILAG edited by Julianna P. Szucs and her associate editors will be signed to press within the next few days.

FREE ACCESS TO INFORMATION REQUIRED TO DEVELOP DEMOCRACY

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 11, 1983 pp 73-83

[Article by Miklos Olah: "Intellectuals, Information Needs and Democracy"]

[Text] The social phenomena coming to light as a result of the present world economic and political situation are engaging the attention of increasingly more people and convincing them of the necessity for the "educated individual". However, a solution does not always follow from the certainty and realization of the necessity for something, no matter how serious the arguments marshalled against its postponement. The question is whether society will at all answer the "challenge" stemming from some socioeconomic regularity; if it does, how and when will it answer, and will it accept the qualification of itself which the given answer sets forth?

To a great extent, the detection of the "challenge", the formulation of the answer and the propriety of its implementation depends on the type of intellectuals in the society. During the course of their training and later at their places of work and in public life, were the individuals comprising the intelligentsia provided with all the information which is indispensably necessary for the high-quality fulfillment of their tasks, and for the striking power to face our society's problems? This is the fundamental expectation facing the training of intellectuals and their surroundings, organizations and communities.

That these loci (higher level education, workplaces, forums of public life, mass communications, public education) do not always satisfy the above expectations is common knowledge. In this article I will attempt to examine the manipulative mechanisms and to formulate their motive for operation and their regularity which cause the lack of social publicity of a proper level in each locus and community--resulting in the lack of information and the simultaneous demand for information precipitated by this.

We will be discussing the sort of "generally known" contradictory social phenomena familiar to everyone. The reason for my attempt to examine these in more detail is that it is not enough to discuss this sort of thing on the level of public opinion. The laws they operate by and their motives must be revealed: who, when and in what instances, are interested in their preservation and in delaying their termination, when at the same time they are making precisely

the opposite oral and written statements.

Thus, the problem is complex and in the interest of completeness, it could not even be surveyed within the framework of a larger article. My reasons for nevertheless undertaking this study were its challenging nature, and urgent timeliness contrasted with its conspicuous lack of resolution. It follows from the complexity of the question that it simultaneously requires a sociological, communications theory, sociopsychological and management theory approach.¹

In Place of a Definition

Since in this article we are attempting to examine the causes and consequences of the absence of social information and information demand, primarily (although not exclusively) from the viewpoint of the intelligentsia, the first concept immediately presents itself: the intellectual.

Instead of reviewing the conclusions and definitions of the technical literature, which by today are extensive in this subject, and fashioning a new definition from these which in all certainty will merely numerically augment the earlier ones, I would merely like to point out the fact that sociology and generally also public opinion includes those with higher educations in this category.

What I think is important to emphasize with respect to what follows (in contrast to the rather broad interpretation which exists mainly because of the statistical simplicity) is that among the functions of the intelligentsia in each age, the perhaps most important and in my opinion, the fundamental criterion for the existence of intellectuals, is the creation of values--by those with or without diplomas equally.

This emphasis is not accidental. We generally count on the demand for information in the extraordinary event, or in one of concern or interest, and this in itself already presupposes a certain level of informedness. A high level of up-to-date informedness in professional, political and public affairs areas is primarily the right and responsibility of the intellectuals (especially those capable of creating cultural value) in the sense of the social division of labor. On the other hand, the manipulative mechanisms mentioned in the introduction and which will be later discussed consciously sin against precisely this right as a result of which a portion of the intellectuals will not even be able to fulfill their obligations in time--because of the gradual decline in the level of their informedness--while others, in many cases very often, abuse their monopoly on information which they have without basis or merit. None of us could sanction the social destructiveness of this phenomenon resulting in the marginalization and relegation of a significant part of the intelligentsia to the background, together with the passivity of a serious proportion of society, etc.; its society-wide dysfunction does not need particular explanation.

Publicity and the Demand for Information

Further reflecting on the question of "publicity", Angelusz examines the conclusions of Robert Habermas' well-known book² from 1. subjective-objective, 2. potential and actual, 3. formal and substantive aspects. Here, the subjective

side represents the debating audience and the objective side means the general accessibility of the information and government decrees affecting this audience; the "potential and actual" dimension means the accessibility of the institutions of publicity and the utilization of this opportunity by social classes and strata in each age; the formal side means the objective approaching of important and timely questions in public affairs. The substantive side means those of the above which are finally published.³ The author also correctly concludes that it is not possible to talk about the possibility of simultaneous and total publicity for every topic which lays claim to public interest. However, the degree of publicity of information on a given topic which comes to light or is published could already be theoretically defined. We could measure this with a ratio whose numerator is the total information appearing on a topic which is accessible to everyone, and its denominator is the total objective information which could be collected; this ratio relates to the whole number "1" which corresponds to "total publicity". And this ratio, without acceptable reasons, often falls far below this comparison value.

The fundamental prerequisite for effective social publicity is the existence of a high level of democracy. (By democracy and democratism here and in what follows, I mean the form of power which always asserts the principle of the majority in each community.) The fact that its curtailment is followed by a decline in the level of publicity and by a shortage of information almost automatically raises the problem of information demand.

In analyzing information demand, we must start from the sociopsychological concept of demand which this branch of learning connects with the condition of a system in tension.⁴

If the ever existent demand for information is satisfied by those called upon to do this, the feeling of defenselessness and the tense situation accompanying the demand also pass. Problems only arise in the event that information demands are not satisfied.⁵ The demand--as we know--may be of a primary or secondary nature. However, we needlessly try to force the demand for information into one of these two categories: both types of demands are made conscious through information and are terminated with the possession of new information. I consider it necessary to note all this because we frequently meet commentators who, citing the supposed disinterest of their potential audience, neglect to broadcast certain information--arbitrarily and mistakenly referring to them as demands of a secondary nature and hoping that if something is not mentioned, no information demand will arise in connection with it. But it does arise. The technical literature⁶ calls this objectively existing (although not conscious or demonstratable) demand which stems from contact, a latent information demand. If people find out about an event in question in this condition, the information demand presents itself with ever increasing intensity.

Let us see what the causes could be for this type of frustration. Since, in the final analysis, people are the ones who transmit information, this situation could exist because of accidents and organizational and other types of errors. Objective economic difficulties also adversely influence the level of publicity: the lack of material and personnel conditions could be the cause for the

examined symptoms. Not every country is capable of creating and operating a communications base like that of the United States. Problems which stem from the coexistence of the two world orders also contribute to these, and for the time being they will continue to do so for a long time.

In the following, I would not like to deal with these objective problems, which I might say, stem from technical reasons, but instead with questions as to when the "omissions" have a conscious, misleading, expressly manipulative purpose. Manipulation working to protect power positions, such as the mechanism restricting the accessibility of facts or rather the information related to them is, from the viewpoint of the whole society, and examined from the aspect of democratization, unambiguously a dysfunctional manifestation. Let us therefore take a tour, in a few sentences, around this already somewhat utilized concept along the path of a currently "enforced", often mentioned view and train of thought.

First of all, the representatives of this train of thought agree that manipulation is expressly and exclusively a problem within the capitalistic relations of production. Its basis and precondition is alienation which in the final analysis, as is commonly known, is caused by the unequal division of property. In the interest of maintaining this social injustice, capitalistic interests today, already in possession of psychologically developed instruments of influence, deprive men of their freedom; they influence the actions and choices of those affected according to self-interest and contrary to theirs. This leaves them ever more defenseless; that is, alienation continues to increase. In the end, people could even be influenced to think against their own interests in such a way that they do not even notice it.⁷ If we substitute "boss", "manager" or their not always legitimate, temporary or permanent sphere of authority for "the interest of capital" and consider that, at times, the interests also clash toward us, we could see that because of the reasons already mentioned and those which will be discussed later, this sort of thing could occur in existing socialist societies, therefore here too. Of course, we could occasionally also meet with an "admission"; however, those expressing this also add that here this is merely "the reconciliation of interests" occurring in the interest of realizing socially assigned goals, and it is "attitude forming", of a well intentioned, remedial and clarifying nature.⁸ It is time we faced these long obsolete ideas and practices which treat the members of society like children.

For manipulation to exist, it is necessary to have: 1. a manipulator--with appropriate information, the means necessary for their procurement, position and authority, and personal interest motivating his activity, and 2. an individual or community which may be manipulated, whose manipulation is naturally contrary to its interests, but its comprehensive uninformedness which stems from many causes results in its defenselessness and suitability for manipulation; that is, a certain degree of monopolization of the possession of information is necessary for manipulation. In an extreme case, this monopoly could reach the point where only one person is properly informed about a question affecting humanity. However, it is his interest that no one else know what he knows because he will thereby lose the advantage which assures his monopoly. In a given case, the result of this sort of "unsporting" division of the power of information has fatal consequences in reference to the broader community.

That is, in this case, the monopolization of information only results in a latent information demand which does not create protective mechanisms to terminate danger situations. So that we don't paint the devil of atomic war on the wall, let me refer to a biblical example which is familiar to everyone: Noah, who had exclusive possession of the news of the all-destroying flood.⁹ Since we must admit it is possible to find the accoutrements and conditions of the above "recipe" in East Central European socialism which affect every area of social communication, we could legitimately raise the question of whether there is objective information at all.

Those who do not believe in the total objectivity of information generally refer to the inevitable "distorting" and "modifying" role of the transmitting agencies which automatically stems from their operation and politics. In my opinion, this sort of view may only be voiced during an evaluation of the activities of a specific news agency, if it deserves the criticism. In general, it is irresponsible to state that news agencies are incapable of collecting, broadcasting and publishing objective information! Here we are actually speaking about the partiality and objectivity of news services and mass communication. And the two are very much reconcilable, moreover, in the simplest way: the news agency does the greatest service in the interest of propagating its ideological and political attitude if it is objective! (That is, there is objective information, and it must merely be left alone to have it remain so during its processing!) The partiality of the news agency is not identical to the silencing of misquoting of news which does not support the original fundamental political position. A communications or mass communications base becomes truly partial with its exactness and reliability, that is, by the conscientious broadcasting of all available information on a particular topic. Only in this way will it gain the trust of the controlling mechanisms.¹⁰ This is the only way an organization is capable of gaining, retaining or recovering its prestige; at the same time, this is the only way it can be convincing about the *raison d'être* of the ideology and politics it represents. If it is unable to fulfill this expectation, it may be legitimately assumed that there is something wrong with its political-ideological stand. In addition to the fact that the possible detection of the manipulative intent of the commentator limits his trustworthiness, we will say that the principle of the weakest link in the chain prevails here too. The most unreliable information also drags down to its own level all the existing, possibly true and objective, information in its vicinity. Under certain circumstances the proliferation of personal communication which enters with the decline in prestige of official news sources could also have far reaching negative consequences which are unambiguously contrary not only to the affected community (occasionally society) but also to the interests of the official communicators. That is, personal communication, precisely in the absence of forums with appropriately wide jurisdiction maximally polarizes opinions and viewpoints of the people in connection with an issue. This does not cause a problem until the community is affected by some sort of unexpected challenge, perhaps affecting the existence of society, which may be effectively answered in only one way: unanimously. And an unprepared society which lacks a proper level of social publicity is unsuited for answering these challenges. Only a community brought up on publicity which possesses wide democratic opportunities and which is more tolerant in direct

relation to its economic level in the face of existential or other difficulties affecting it can answer this properly. At the same time, it represents a greater strength and is more efficient in eliminating these difficulties than a community which is autocratically led, manipulated to order and does not make the problem its own, but rather foists it on the leadership.

About Sensitive Information and Public Opinion or the Commentator's Dilemma

Since information which is silenced or broadcast in manipulated form is by and large included in the list of so-called sensitive questions, let us see what characterizes them and their handling.

First, we must state that their explosiveness and sensitivity is always relative. What is sensitive to some (on a social level, always the minority) is merely natural, desired and expected to others. Silenced sensitive information always compromises the silencing individual or organization, or rather the viewpoint of the position they maintain. Sensitive information is classified as such because it does not suit the interests of the professional communicator or employer. They neglect to impart information which is contrary to their interests; that is, a manipulated version of the content of the news is published. One could even imagine a case where those who are entrusted with communicating information refuse to do so because they owe their distinguished position precisely to the fact that they possess more information than the "average man" in their surroundings.

Thus sensitive information is always timely. As a result of this characteristic, it always arouses interest and its artificial localization always arouses the interest of even only slightly informed individuals through personal channels of communication and greatly influences the direction of the formation of public opinion in relation to a given question. An examination of the mass media and public opinion from this viewpoint and the question raised herein follow from the above. That is, in the short run, it is possible to remove public opinion from objective truth, but examined in historical perspective, social consciousness always pursues it. Sooner or later, the activities of the communications organization influencing social consciousness with a manipulative intent are discovered. However, the question is to what extent does the authority which misinforms the community it is entrusted with get a realistic picture of public opinion.

The Leading Intellectuals and Their Method of Selection

"In the socialist formation, society is structured in a new way: the relations of strata and classes is not formed by antagonistic conflicts; the intellectuals are not subordinated to the privileged class, and at the same time it does not possess codified privileges or become organized into a stratum possessing an independent position within the social structure."¹¹ In order to have Tibor Huszar's desirable conclusion become generally prevalent, a more expanded practice of democracy is required. Namely, a portion of the intelligentsia does not merely fulfill a leading role professionally but also in the power political structure! The outlined structural equilibrium could tip and certain

intellectual leaders possessing distinguished social positions could turn the opportunities offered in an unstable situation to their benefit. Their privileges could stem from their greater than average professional and social knowledge, but in our day, the existence of regional power hierarchy organized on a nepotistic basis is not infrequent.

Let us examine what the possible psychological and sociopsychological causes could be beyond concrete leadership interests, for the phenomena examined up to now which are to be condemned from a social viewpoint. Considering the most characteristic ones, there is, for example, lost prestige. Among the factors comprising the prestige of a leader, we may consider general and professional education, intelligence, other specifically personal characteristics and status. These components are in a complementary relationship with one another; the lack of one or more of them (or of those not listed here) results in the impairment of the leader's prestige. If the leader notices this himself or others bring it to his attention, he attempts to compensate for the absence with existing ones. The component which always exists and remains constant is the leadership status which if overemphasized in leading, causes the principle of prestige and later leads to a different kind of prestige or rather to manipulation in the interests of retaining position. The complexity of the situation is intensified by the fact that the individual practicing the faulty leadership style rarely realizes that there is something wrong with his style of leadership. In many cases this type of person considers himself to be a good leader and doesn't believe the legitimacy of the criticism which in time necessarily reaches him; thus, he doesn't even deal with its warranted consideration. Naturally, after a while those in his surroundings notice a disposition which does not tolerate criticism and they adapt to the "boss's idiosyncracies". In time, this environment, divided in its opinion, its will and increasingly, its human dignity, will perforce raise its voice against the director who lost his control and will elicit his complete anger. And the professional/human jealousy which breeds anger is--as we know--a poor advisor and encourages the utilization of instruments which are disrespectful of the leader, conflict with the interests of the institution and organization and prevail in the opposite direction of its work, again leading to manipulation. I do not assert that every leader of this kind performs activity which is injurious to the community with "premeditated intent". Some individuals entrusted with community affairs initially monopolize the administration of matters entrusted to him with good intentions, saying that surely he was entrusted with this because he is the best qualified, and after all, a person may only truly trust in his own work. In time he even forgets that these are actually the matters of the community and he increasingly handles them as such, or rather in accordance with his own interests which often conflict with the community and group interest. Actually, we are talking about social conservatism and routine resisting change.

This sort of problem caused by "solitary" directors incapable of further development pales beside cases where the director surrounds himself with unqualified subordinates who, as a result, could be kept in check, do not endanger his position, and of course, are suitable scapegoats if someone perchance inquires about the performed work. Here is where the nightmarish reign of incompetence, the clique system, unprincipled flattery and nepotism, as an organizing principle can be traced. And in this environment, in vain do we look

for a democratic, creative atmosphere, a good environment and the conditions for demanding work which are necessary for the high-quality functioning of the organization.

Bela Buda examines leadership deficiencies from a sociopsychological viewpoint, and seeks the causes in the lack of empathetic ability. Accordingly, he hopes that the individual's leadership capabilities could be improved (in the direction of a democratic leadership style) by expanding and further developing the empathetic capacity. With this, he assumes that the leader's attitude is fundamentally decent, whereas this is correct only in the most infrequent cases. An autocratic leadership style (and its concomitant, manipulation) is generally not without reason--most often it is a necessary "accessory" for implementing the leader's personal interests. This type of leader does indeed have an empathetic capacity; therefore it is understandable why cures and group training aimed at developing empathy, which are also suggested by Buda among others, do not have results.¹³ The success of similar methods and therefore also their justification could only be accepted, moreover, other proposed solutions could also be implemented with a clear conscience, if we assume that the mechanisms examined by us in the given structure are not universal, i.e., are not determinant forces, and the organization itself does not function according to these but rather classifies them as reprehensible. In this event the purification of the structure merely requires an appropriately high level of publicity and publication since it is necessary to have information for the democratic criticizing of the manager with faulty attitudes and for intensifying the criticism. In the opposite case, this may not be implemented because often those judging the possibilities of publicity also represent the undesirable part of the structure and are those who do not publicize information which is compromising to themselves or rather their employers.

Many see the solution to the problem in the changing of the generations--since for historical reasons, the individuals who become obstacles to democracy are most often members of the older generation. This opinion is also incorrect because the holders of the status in question for the most part, reproduce themselves. The organization which sanctions this sort of bureaucratic succession need not fear a change in the customary and convenient practice or, among other things, the undermining of its position.

These phenomena and those not even mentioned herein could hardly expand our democratic traditions--which, for historical reasons, are scarce as it is. Genuine intervention could only be achieved with the significantly greater rate of expansion than to date of all channels of publicity. Only in this way is it possible to realize the transformation of society to become responsible and active, and the perception that is necessary and worthwhile to become socially active, because our life circumstances and general conditions would become truly good and humane. In general it may be said that it is time to change from the methods of political dictatorship which are not always practiced in the interests of the majority to the practice of science, objectivity and publicity. Hungarian society is already ripe enough for its members to truly decide the choice of their leader. Possible mistakes could in any event be corrected in the following election, since the voters will experience firsthand the failure of their earlier choice. Referring to the same thing, Andras Suto

says with matchless conciseness, "The dangers of freedom are neutralized not by restrictions but by freedom itself."¹⁴ Before anyone would consider the author of this writing because of the above line to be sentimental and naive, saying that "everyone knows what is desirable", let us continue the train of thought by asking why this generally known and desirable idea could not become part of everyday practice.

The fundamental accessory of democracy is the existing surveyability of the mechanisms of representation and, on occasion, the proper choice and utilization of the two types of systems of interest representation--indirect and direct. The democratic organization of voting serves the successful and indirect representation of interests (practiced by chosen representatives) and could be called democratic when 1. it, as well as the nomination which precedes it, is secret, 2. the number of nominees is not restricted, 3. suitable forums and unrestricted propaganda opportunities (press, placards, meetings, etc.) are ensured for the support of the groups' nominees, and 4. the existence of the possibility of recall from the occupied position in the event of a mistaken choice. Representative democracy can only be effective to the desired extent if the representatives, on every level and in every case, totally represent the interests of the group or community which invests them with authority. In the case of democracy and publicity, this does not cause any concerns: the elected individual always faces either the sympathy or antipathy of the voters and the former is needed for reelection. The applicability of the fundamental conditions of democracy simultaneously also assumes the existence of democracy. At the same time, the periodically occurring elections also represent a form of and an opportunity for criticism--provided they are truly democratic. If any one of the above democratic conditions are missing in an election, it is primarily the fault of the preparers and administrators. Generally its cause, in addition to inexperience and lack of demand, is that those who were previously elected and who are either directly or indirectly the directors of the election arrangements do not believe they could continue to retain their positions in the event that the elections were truly democratic. New preparers and administrators who serve the interests of the majority, the public, would be needed to ensure democratic elections. However, only a democratically functioning administration could guarantee this since as we have seen, they would have to be elected, and thus we have come full circle. In this case, there is no other alternative than the radical expansion of democracy and publicity carried out from below by the dissatisfied but rational majority.

Also according to the opinion of experts working in this area, the main path of progress is the advancement of representative democracy which does not follow merely from our present state of historical-social development, but also from the realistic functioning of society and organizations. In addition to this, at any rate, compulsory alternative, direct participation should be accorded advantages significantly more often than at present since it is unambiguously the more favorable democratic form.

The great advantage of the direct decision-making form is that it does not require the interference of built-in representative organizations which often become independent of the electors, between the elector and the decisions. It

must also be taken into consideration that technical development has expanded the limits of applicability of this democratic form which earlier was utilized only rarely or not at all.

A great deal of time has passed and the circumstances have also changed to a certain extent since Athenian democracy; it would be anachronistic, at the end of the 20th century to long for a return to voting with pottery shards which was successful in the ancient world. But the frequent utilization of direct democracy in the near future, even on a society-wide basis, is conceivable. In certain states (let us trust that in time, also in Hungary), the time is not far when there will be a telephone in every household, the pottery shards of the 20th and following centuries, which in a matter of moments could demonstrate the opinion of a country's society on some important question affecting everyone with the aid of a computer at the other end of the line. The new results could also be publicized immediately through the radio and television which are already found in each household.¹⁵ For the sake of objectivity, it must be mentioned that presently in Hungary it is not the shortage of telephones which causes the longstanding and increasingly apparent lack of referendum, which serves to decide issues of significance and interest to all of society. For the purpose of avoiding irrationalities in this area, we should keep in mind the occasional transgressions of bourgeois democracy.

It seems that we have digressed somewhat from our original topic. Seemingly anyone could legitimately ask why it is necessary to discuss the selection of leaders and democratic conditions with respect to the causes and consequences of the position of the intelligentsia, the lack of information and the demand for information. After all, for example, the majority of the directors of higher education, mass communications and enterprises are not even elected but appointed. However, since in the final analysis the appointments are carried out by those who have already gained their status by way of election and it is not irrelevant how, I believe there is not particular reason for explanations.

No one is able to solve or settle this type of problem either alone or in a limited circle; this sort of endeavor is automatically doomed to failure from the start because of its nature and extent. Nor did this article set before itself such an unfeasible task, and the ideas set forth here in are debatable. This problem is society-wide; unfortunately it appears in the most diverse areas of life. For precisely this reason, discovery with the intent to improve and counteract must be a society-wide task and responsibility, since we said that socialism has no real problems into which people could not or should not be initiated. Problems were never solved by suppressing them.

FOOTNOTES

1. Duncan warned of the difficulties stemming from the interdisciplinary method (reviving Dance's conclusion of 1967 which is unfortunately still valid today): "What we must conclude is that sociologists do not know much about communication(s). And this is because to date they have not constructed a theory or develop a method which would permit the examination of the

social effect of communication(s)." (H.D. Duncan: The Search For a Social Theory of Communication in American Sociology. In: L.X. Dance, Human Communications Theory. New York-Chicago-San Francisco, Toronto, London, 1967, pp 259-260.) I felt the legitimacy of this observation at every phase of development and formation during the course of my work. And since this is valid for Hungarian language works to a greater extent, in many cases I utilized purely my personal experiences and observations for verifying my hypothesis and conclusions.

2. J. Habermas, "A tarsadalmi nyilvanossag szerkezetvaltozasai" [Changes in the Mechanism of Social Publicity], Budapest, Gondolat, 1971, pp 12-14.
3. R. Angelusz, "Timeliness, Information Demand and Publicity", VALOSAG No 10, 1978.
4. "A sense of lack toward objectives, relations, experiences and situations determined by tension is manifested which propels people to engage in activities suited to reducing the tension. It decreases with the decline of tension--however, the intensity of demand grows with its increase." Op. cit., p 2.
5. We must quickly note that information demand may not be exclusively examined as a function of mass media. From this viewpoint, the mass media must be individually separated from other hierarchical organizations (within the framework of the official work place and interpersonal relations of a private nature, a community of friends, a community of neighbors, etc.). Although the causes and symptoms of the phenomenon of information demand stemming from two kinds of sources could also be identical, they diverge in the effect and especially the extent of an unsuitable level of information or misinformation. For example, "misinformation" within a circle of friends, which could also be classified as a prank, is to be evaluated in one way and the "falterings" of a middle level manager are to be evaluated in another way than a similar activity by any one of the organs of mass communication, whatever its intent. Despite these differences, they could be evaluated side by side because of the similarity of their mechanisms. Saussure writes of the sign, "...by a sign we mean the entirety which comes into existence through the association of a signaler and a designate..." ("Bevezetes az altalanos nyelvezetbe" [Introduction to General Linguistics]. Budapest, Gondolat, 1967, p 93). Continuing our train of thought, from the viewpoint of our subject, we could say that the greater the information value of a sign, the more information we receive from it through the signaler about the designate. Information also used to be defined as the choice of certain possibilities and the elimination of uncertainty. The publication of less than what is necessary and the ever existing demand on a designate (whether it is a phenomenon, material object, event, etc.) creates the feeling of defenselessness in the individual and community or rather the condition of information demand.
6. Angelusz, op. cit., p 5.
7. Cf.: I. Hermann, "A polgari dekadencia problemjai" [The Problems of Bourgeois

Decadence], Budapest, Kossuth, 1967, pp 111-113.

8. Cf.: Hermann, "Manipulation and its Consequences", VALOSAG, No 6, 1964.
9. His personal interest and escape (which he might have rationalized as the preservation of earthly life?) required that no one else learn of the news he knew. If he were to have publicized it, perhaps others would have also constructed rafts and arks; perhaps they would have even taken along animals (or rather, earthly life also escapes in this case), but Noah would certainly have been smitten by God's anger for breaking the agreement. The examination of the conscience of a man in Noah's position, analogous to the story of the flood, would make an interesting subject of a socio-psychological study.
10. As it was mentioned earlier, it is necessary for the manipulator to have a total monopoly on information to successfully utilize manipulation. And this--as we know--occurs in the rarest instance; a portion or perhaps the entirety of the manipulative information which is broadcast sooner or later becomes controllable as a result of the simultaneous operation of the personal (or informal) communications channels. Thus, the official communication could, for a short time, fly in the face of personal experiences but if it becomes entangled in a long-term contradiction with them, its assumed and hoped for effect is lost. The prestige of the official news services inflated by the nature of their activity dramatically decreases in the eyes of individuals who are informed in a roundabout way and who are to a significant extent forced to do without information. This loss of prestige affects the other operations of the news source and also their effectiveness. The information aired in such instances, even if they are true and conform to objective requirements, is often sceptically greeted by the public which has been deluded on one or more occasions. Lazarsfeld's 1962 study shed light on how important personal communications were: "...the instruments of the mass media compared to the influence of personal communications only had an insignificant role. There was much evidence for the fact that people's decisions were influenced by the advice and suggestions of others whom they met during the course of their daily lives." (E. Katz and P. Lazarsfeld, "Personlicher Einfluss und Meinungsbildung". Wien, Verlag fur Gesellschaft und Politik, 1962.) Angelusz quotes him in Hungarian: "The Effect of Mass Communications on the Formation of Opinion", SZOCIOLOGIA, No 6, 1979). It's a different although similar situation when someone does not have the expected congruency between the content of their news and their simultaneous metacommunication signals. In this instance, we are more likely to believe the metacommunication, although it is generally known that this too may be consciously directed.

The operation of several, simultaneous, parallel, personal, official and mass communications sources results in their simultaneous rivalry. As to which of the provided sources each individual will use is decided by the "law of information demand and information supply". Or rather, the case is that in a given time, the functioning of the official channels are monitored through personal communications as to which is the most objective on a given subject.

The significance and weight of personal communications are also emphasized by the fact that as an instrument of the process of socialization, it appears very early in the life of the individual and stays with him throughout it. Compared to the early use of personal communications, we only take advantage of mass communications significantly later, when we already possess serious practice in personal communications.

11. T. Huszar, "Tortenelem es Szociologia" [History and Sociology], Budapest, Magveto, 1979, p 121.
12. B. Buda, "Az empatia--a beleeles leletana" [Empathy--the Psychology of Identification], Budapest, Gondolat, 1978.
13. Op. cit., pp 329-355.
14. A. Suto, "Engedjetez hozzam jonni a szavakat" [Allow the Words to Come to Me], Budapest, Magveto, 1980, p 11.
15. Cf.: S. Szalai, "The Horizons of Telecommunications Technology", VALOSAG, No 6, 1974.

9956
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FACTS ON CHANGES IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION PRESENTED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 5 Jan 84 pp 1, 9

[Article by Antal Adam: "Communities Under Transformation"]

[Text] With the proclamation of the council system in 1950, the vast majority of village settlements classified as communities gained the right to elect their own councils. Among the 3,169 communities that existed at the time, 2,808 elected an independent community council, while 361 communities formed 170 joint councils. Thus with the first council election, 2,798 community councils were formed. In 1963 there were 195 community councils, in 1966 343, in 1968 410, in 1969 510, in 1970 625, in 1976 694, and in 1980 715. Between 1980 and August 1983, 1,394 community councils took over the 3,004 settlements classified as communities in the country. Of these, 679 functioned as independent community councils, and the competence of 715 joint community councils extended to 2,325 community settlements. Thus, 1,610 communities, the so-called associated communities, did not have, and still do not have at present, a council and executive committee located on site. Local public administration and the organization of facilities is performed by the council organization established in the headquarters community.

According to data from the 1980 national census, 53 percent of the country's population of 10.709 million live in cities, 47 percent--more than 5 million persons--live in communities. Between 1970 and 1980 the population of the communities declined by 600,000, but 400,000 of those cases resulted from proclaiming certain communities as cities.

It is a very essential feature of our settlement relations that of the workers who make up 59 percent of the active earners (in absolute figures about 3 million persons) almost one-half live in communities. It follows from this that the number of commuters in our country is very large. Among the population of communities, 52 percent are workers, 17 percent intellectual workers, and less than 30 percent rural manual workers.

Mixed Households

The 565,000 manual workers (91,000 state workers, 31,000 forestry workers and 443,000 members of agricultural producer cooperatives) cannot be regarded in the traditional sense as peasants. Almost one-half of the personnel performing

manual work here is not engaged in agriculture. In Hungary, to be sure, we regard as part of agriculture those branch activities which service agriculture and which are performed in the subsidiary operations branch of large plants or in construction repair and delivery plant units servicing agriculture. A characteristic manifestation of the socio-structural changes and the mobility processes experienced in the communities is to be found in the large ratio of mixed composition families living in one household.

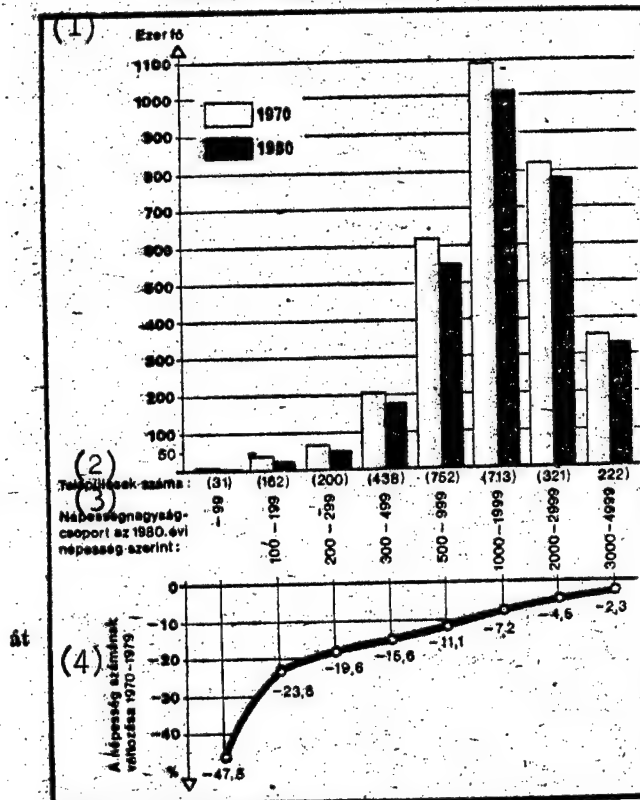
In 1980, 14 percent of the more than 5 million community residents lived in families that did not have an active wage-earner, only pensioners or dependents, and 29 percent had only one active wage-earner. In the remaining 57 percent of the households there were two or more gainfully employed. Of these households more than one-half were of mixed composition. That is to say, about 29 percent of the community population lived in mixed composition households. Forty-nine percent of the active community workers belonging to the working class, 61 percent of those belonging to the cooperative peasantry, 47 percent belonging to intellectual workers, and 53 percent belonging to small producers lived in households where there was more than one active wage-earner in another work category. The picture as outlined gives an awareness of the fact that certain class and sub-class boundaries among the mixed composition of households is related to the fact that the large majority of the community workers is also engaged in household farming.

Where the Population Is Small

According to the data in the 1980 national census, fewer than 500 people lived in 832 communities while in 753 community-level settlements the population was between 500 and 1,000. Thus the population did not exceed 1,000 in 1,585 communities out of 3,004. This means that 54.4 percent of the communities are tiny or small communities. In the knowledge of the population decline possibilities, it is probable, despite efforts to the contrary, that as a consequence of the decline in communities with a population below 1,000 the number of tiny and small communities will continue to rise. The share of this population is rather small, and came to about 800,000 persons in 1980, or 16 percent of community inhabitants.

Communities with less than 500 inhabitants lost almost one-fifth of their population in 10 years, and the population of communities with a population of 500 to 1,000 has also been declining annually by more than 1 percent. In several individual cases these averages conceal considerably higher percentages. Many experts believe that we must improve the basic living conditions of the inhabitants in the above-mentioned settlements, or of those intending to live there, with settlement policy, administrative and other measures carefully adjusted to the endowments of tiny and small community areas. We must gradually counter the disadvantages deriving from this environment. Already many promising initiatives have been developed to find the methods for realizing these efforts. For example, vacant houses have been made available for recreation purposes, incentives are being given to artisan and retail undertakings, housing construction conditions have been eased, mobile services extended, in certain places a community caretaker has been employed, and so forth. The establishment of more rational administration is particularly important to increase the ability of communities to retain their population.

A községek népességszámának alakulása



Development of Community Population

Key:

1. 1,000 persons
2. Number of settlements
3. Population size-class according to 1980 census
4. Changes in population numbers 1970-1979

Instead of Districts

It is well known that the three-level local division which has existed thus far--community, district and megye--is being simplified with the elimination of the district level.

In the local council organization, a central-network connection system is being developed for communities and cities, that is, for community and city councils, in which for most of the cities (105 out of 109, and in areas where there are no cities about 35 large communities including 22 that until now were district seats) a council administration organization is responsible also for the second-level official administrative tasks of 10 to 12 communities on the average. In several groupings the organizations also exercise first-level rights. A hierarchical relationship has not been established

between the councilar bodies operating in the area or between the central council of the area and its executive committee, but rather a relationship has been developed which is associate in nature, manifold in planning-development tasks, coordinating and cooperative in nature.

In its resolution of 6 July 1983 the MSZMP Central Committee raised to the rank of national-level political decisions the social efforts which have been maturing for the past several years to see that in addition to maintaining the basic factors and successful solution of the joint community council network, we must "realize better than up to now in the work of the joint councils the realization of the interests of the associate communities." Therefore in every associate community an independent local board (elöljáróság) must be formed from the elected members. It has thus become one of the important tasks of the near future to work out the character of the associate community's representative organs, and their composition, role and operational forms.

It is to be desired that the representative organ of the joint community should be able to make decisions independently in the internal development and renovation affairs of the settlement. To do this, it is necessary of course to create the financial conditions.

It is well known that in small communities, confidence linked to a one-person leadership and the personal activity of the community leader has an important role. Therefore the chairman of the associate community representation should be invested with certain mediating responsibilities and individual decision rights. The associate community representative body should also exercise rights of initiative, opinion rendering, and concurrence in areas exceeding the more limited internal affairs of the associate community or with appropriate differentiation in matters of common interest with other communities.

In addition to assuring an associate community interest representation, the joint council should make decisions on development, supply, guidance and supervisory questions affecting the whole or most of the settlements belonging to the joint council's area of competence. It must be made possible, however, for the joint administrative apparatus to see that the associate community representative organ should also carefully follow, evaluate and influence work concerning the associate community. The calling of the associate community village meeting, the right and responsibility to attend to problems that emerge there may be entrusted primarily to the local council board.

The megye withdrawal and redistribution financial system which limits to a great extent the economic-financial independence of the communities has been the subject of many-sided critical analyses. It demonstrates the excessive role of the megye council organs in the setting of goals and in management when about 90 percent of the development money in the council sphere is distributed by the megye council organs. The experts have worked out many proposals which differ, to be sure, from one another in respect to the various kinds, volume, and independent use of sources. However, there is total agreement that it is necessary to expand the independent decisionmaking

scope of authority for the communities, and in this respect to moderate the present, excessively centralized withdrawal and redistribution role of the megyes.

More Than Public Administration

This big undertaking of districting cannot of course be limited to the local and middle level system of public administration; it also has a direct effect on the relations of representational organs, the social organizations, education, health and social institutions, service and other organs. By circumspectly considering the conditions, it is timely for us to study and decide the following: in what segments of social life will the state assume an organizational role, and for the service of what goals will the state give ground to social organizations, economic units, self-governing bodies, and the association of private individuals and individual activities?

The development of a new type of area relations for the local councils will make it possible, in fact necessary, to enhance with new formations the system of constitutional stipulations used almost exclusively up to now by organs of the same level--namely, with organs of different levels, for example, community and city, community (city) and megye, community and ministry, megye and ministry, etc. It is likely that in certain cases the stipulations will be more useful than the hierarchical means of guidance used one-sidedly thus far in order to coordinate the interests and plans of organs with differing levels, and on the basis of coordinated interest to demand fulfillment from one another of the voluntarily undertaken obligations.

On an Association Basis

We can only regard with approbation the fact that before the grouping of communities into an area network, the government organs recently changed the status of several settlements. The position taken in broad circles appears well founded that given the present material-technical conditions, particularly the present domestic development of communications and transportation, it is not advisable to develop in greater dimensions the joint council organization of the communities. We do not need the integration of settlements and bodies but the modernization of administration, services and management--fundamentally prepared--or joint organization on an associational basis.

Some of the communities have already availed themselves of administrative association. Following the expansion of the first-degree scope of authority of communities with the elimination of district offices, it may become all the more justifiable that with expert measures by certain official groups--for example, construction, price control, tax and other official responsibilities--neighboring community councils, perhaps community and city councils, may jointly maintain and guide an administrative organ, or use an appropriately qualified official in charge.

Another group of association matters of concern includes combined establishment, operation, guidance and supervision of health, public education and teaching-instructing, social, sport and other institutions.

The community may also associate for the combined operation of a communal organization that they themselves can directly maintain or for promoting coordinated, efficient supply and service operations for their settlements. The location of the associated institutions may and must be solved by considering local endowments. Concerning settlement and social policy it is of utmost importance that in the formation of planning-development and other associative cooperation links among the communities as well as among communities and cities a conscious requirement should be a rational and effective distribution of functions among the settlements. The healthy application of this principle is justified from various points of view. A rational distribution of functions will keep institutions and supply organizations in the area's central city. Function distribution will make it possible not only for the area's center and the headquarter community to contribute to better provisions for the area but for the other settlements as well through use of their endowments. Only a consciously pursued settlement development with a function distribution can prevent certain settlements from assuming a superior attitude that is damaging to the other settlements, and make it possible to promote the coordinated, proportional development of settlements: that is, the facilities of urbanization or city life should become an accepted matter in most of the settlements.

6691

CSO: 2500/155

RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS CONTRASTED WITH PARTY AFFILIATION

Socialism Compatible With Religion

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 8 Jun 83 p 11

[Article by Edward Grzelak]

[Text] The question concerning the Marxist-Leninist party and the religiousness of its members, much like another, i.e., Marxism and religion, has been explained repeatedly.

Insofar as the party is concerned, this is principally due to the lack of knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and poor party education among the party membership. Also important, however, are the tendencies on the fringe of the party such as opportunism, characterized by total disregard for Marxist-Leninist principles linked with world outlook, and the sectarian-leftist nature of "atheistic officiousness," which constitutes a criterion of world outlook by measuring the political and ideological value of the individual. Both these tendencies which diverge from social reality and the class struggle are equally harmful. The question asked in ZYCIE PARTII was discussed by Bluszkowski ("A Believer in the Party," No 9, 2 Sep 83). Below I will present several supplementary remarks.

I believe that we must remember that according to Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party and communist party practice, it is also possible for religious persons to become members. K. Marx determined that atheism cannot be a prerequisite for membership. V. Lenin did not prohibit Christians or those believing in God from joining the party. Quite the contrary, among other things, in the famous article entitled "Workers' Party Attitudes Toward Religion," he indicated that the party should not only allow, but should actively try to recruit party members from among the religious working class. For example, formerly a question existed in the workers movement regarding whether or not a priest can be a member of a revolutionary proletarian party, and Lenin responded by not excluding the possibility.

Lenin wrote: "If a priest approaches us with the idea of cooperating politically, carries out conscientious party work, and does not oppose the party program, then we can accept him into the social democratic ranks, since contradictions in the spirit and principles of our program with the priest's religious convictions could concern him directly and represent a personal conflict. The party cannot examine its members to determine whether or not there are any differences between the members' attitudes and the party program."

I am not quoting this fragment from Lenin in order to call for the party membership of priests, but rather to focus attention on the flexibility and rationalism and the important fact that Lenin always put strategic objectives and the needs of the workers and the party first.

The Marxist-Leninist parties, which, of course, take into consideration all sociopolitical conditions, as a rule require recognition and active fulfillment of the socioeconomic and political party program as well as observance of the laws from all those who join the party. This position was accepted by our party. The PPR [Polish Workers Party] was guided by it during the years of Nazi occupation when it was being established, during the struggle for national and social liberation, and later during the struggle to consolidate popular support. The PZPR adopted this position and is adhering to this line consistently. At the same time, the PPR and the PZPR, in adopting this very line, have taken Polish social reality into consideration, that is to say the historic, current, political, social and economic reality. Above all, it must be taken into consideration that a majority of members of Polish society who are also members of the working-class are religious.

The Ninth Extraordinary Congress also took this into consideration by determining in the resolution: "The party will also accept into its ranks those workers who are religious. The party allows them to carry out political activities in accordance with the principles of the program, provides total support of the scientific worldview, and carries out educational and instructive activity in this spirit."

Of course, by formulating such a concept the Ninth Party Congress was concerned with those individuals who have almost accepted socialism, the party program, and have agreed to comply with the laws and cooperative activity. They are not put off in the struggle for the rights of the working class and socialism by the fact that the party is oriented towards a materialistic outlook on life. This should not stand in the way, considering that the differences in the attitudes of people towards religion do not make up for differences in attitudes toward socialism. Secondly, we in the party treat differences in outlook as incidental in comparison with the party's social and political program.

The acceptance of the concept of world outlook as a criterion for membership would be irrational from the point of view of party interests. It would greatly restrict the recruiting base. In addition, the question arises of whether such a large obstacle can be placed against the workers

and peasants, particularly the working-class and peasant youth. Everyone knows or should at least realize that the recognition of an educated outlook on life demands time, much work, since after all people continue to obtain their religious upbringing from their families. The worker's or peasant's working hours rarely allow for in-depth study of the outlook on life. For example, a miner whose job entails constant danger does not have time for reflection without religious delusions. It is precisely in the party, in the party collective, and in party activity that one can create the conditions for rapid political growth and development of the attitudes of a young worker or farmer.

Lenin stated that the most successful way to educate workers who are religious is to involve them in practical activities designed to fulfill the party program. In fact, this is the most profound confrontation of world outlook and religious ideology with a Marxist and socialist world outlook which does not enter into the area of propaganda (theory), but is rather carried out on the level of social practice.

I presume that especially now we must appreciate the party membership declaration by workers, peasants, or intelligentsia members who retain their religious beliefs. In a situation, however, where the party is struggling with the problems of a previous administration and with the results of activities and attacks by the antisocialist forces, then such a declaration is assisted by active party program support, whose fulfillment and protection is of vital political and ideological value.

On the other hand, we must not admit into the party, and this is understandable, those who will attempt to propagate their religious beliefs within the party, or make them public knowledge.

It must be observed that in accepting religious workers, the party does not intend to disregard its work-oriented outlook on life, despite the fact that it does not bring this issue to the forefront of its intraparty and public life. A public and political party program arises from the educated outlook on life and a program of socialist construction. It proves, as F. Engels had said, that the condition of the non-propertied working-class and their living conditions are not apt to be deluded as to the possibility of any other miraculous force being able to bring them social liberation. The working class can achieve this only by fighting for socialism and for its realization.

We must say unequivocally that there is no place in the party for clerics. A religious party member or one who retains his religious beliefs cannot allow himself to be drawn into public religious activity. He must be able to differentiate between the religious functions of church institutions and the political activities of its clergy. A party member who utilizes his religious convictions for goals which are incompatible with party ideology acts against the party's principles and laws, and also violates party unity and discipline.

All party members are obligated to support the religious policy of the party and nation, including consistent compliance with its principles of freedom of conscience and religion, also understood to represent freedom for beliefs based on materialistic cognitive proposals. These would also include atheistic beliefs, equality of citizens' rights irrespective of their denomination, separation of church and state, secular government and education, and privacy of religion in public life.

All party members, irrespective of their religious beliefs, are obligated to oppose various signs of clericalism. They must also oppose all manifestations of the use of religion for political purposes, antisocialist involvement of clerics as well as secular individuals who propound religious beliefs, and intolerance. They must also oppose any attempt at dividing our society into denominational criteria, but should also encourage dialogue with the church and with religious organizations, including the Roman Catholic Church.

Of course, being on the verge of dialogue and cooperation with the church we as a party do not intend to blur the distinct character of the discrepancies between ideology and outlook, between Catholic and Marxist ideology, and between a materialistic outlook and a religious one. It is precisely through dialogue and cooperation that we can emphasize our sameness and credibility. In the contemporary world the ideological struggle and disagreement on outlook are a normal occurrence. Prof A. Lopatka, a minister and director of the Office for Religious Affairs, notes that they should not prevent cooperation and collaboration in those areas which concern the fulfillment of joint social and economic objectives, insofar as issues of significance for the people and for Poland are concerned.

In accepting both religious individuals and active supporters of socialism into its ranks, the party requires that each member, regardless of his true attitudes, augment his Marxist-Leninist learning. The party also requires that he work to broaden his ideological and political awareness. The law obligates all party cells, especially the basic party organizations, to carry out systematic activities in order to raise the level of Marxist-Leninist learning, and that of the average party members and candidate members.

This type of education of party members aims at enriching them with new cultural values and socialist morality, creates new cultural and social needs, increases social activism and intellectual curiosity.

Party Shuns Clericalism

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 23, 9 Nov 83 pp 16, 17

[Article by Edward Grzelak]

[Text] The question of whether a religious individual can become a party member was the topic of my article (in ZYCIE PARTII No 12/83), and essentially represents

a rhetorical question. In the majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world, unorganized yet mass parties, much like our party, religious workers, especially those from the working class and the peasantry, are often party members.

In the aforementioned article I pointed out why this is so. I also stressed that in not making the relations of party members and religion a significant issue in its interparty life, the PZPR is not trying to ignore its Marxist and materialistically oriented world outlook. It obligates each party member to augment his Marxist-Leninist knowledge and his awareness of issues relating to world outlook. Concern from this is obligatory for all party cells and organizations.

Considering this matter more specifically, it is the obligation of every cell and POP to organize the proper training and upbringing activities for all its members, and also those who retain their religious beliefs within a Marxist-Leninist framework. This also includes world outlook. Nevertheless, the party is not merely concerned with drawing the religious away from their religion. Marxist criticism of religion is not a goal within itself. It is chiefly concerned with instilling in its party members the positive essence of socialist humanism and a scientific worldview, and acquiring the habit of applying a rational method of dealing with the phenomenon present in nature and society. This concerns the creation of an attitude of true commitment in the struggle for a world worthy of mankind, the struggle against social injustice, moral indifference and egotism, and development of a sense of responsibility for one's actions in a spirit of patriotism, because of class and international ties. This tendency to educate party members attempts to enrich them with new cultural and socialist morality values, the establishment of new cultural and social needs, the intensification of social activism, and intellectual curiosity.

I believe that it would be worthwhile to note that the principal subject of Marxist criticism of religion does not concern the theoretical but rather the practical implications of the religious perception of life. This narrow-minded atheism places particular emphasis on the theoretical criticism of religious dogma, legends, and holy books, whereas in contrast Marxist-Leninist criticism of religion above all attempts to clarify publicly the historical and economic sources of religion by demonstrating religion's social functions in its entire history and modern diversity and complexity.

We are far from contending that all appraisals affecting mankind and his world, as well as all Marxist and religious precepts, including Roman Catholic ones, are opposed to each other. Among other things, in both Catholicism and Marxism there are ethical norms, principles of conduct, attitudes which are similar or even exactly alike. They constitute human possessions and links to various systems of world outlook, both ideological and moral. This includes many values developed

by Christianity, as well as many developed by Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, there are values which are universally acknowledged and even adapted by Catholic morality and ideology. This in fact facilitates the search for understanding and cooperation by social and political, Catholic and Marxist thinkers and activists concerning the political state and social level.

We must add that in educating itself and its members in a spirit of socialist awareness and scientific worldview in accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideology, the PZPR is also undertaking the struggle with the tendencies on the fringe of the party. It is undertaking the battle with indifference toward Marxist party principles and with opportunistic theories of unrestrained and voluntary atrophy of religion. It is also, however, overcoming the inclination to endow the party with its own kind of denominational union, as well as any type of "atheistic officiousness." All these tendencies are, however, detached from social reality and from the realities of the class struggle.

The PZPR's attitude toward its own principles on world outlook is also demonstrated by the placing of high demands, not only political and ideological, but also demands on the outlook of the party activists, principally those carrying out leadership functions within the party. They work in the party apparatus and represent party workers from educational institutions, ideological front activists, state, cultural, educational, and upbringing institutions.

This attitude toward these categories of members appears to be understood and justified. We are a Marxist-Leninist party, and as such our ideology is based upon materialistic cognitive proposals. The strength of our philosophy is inherent in the overcoming of the delusion that the social liberation of the working class and the workers can only be accomplished by supernatural forces.

It must also be taken into account that the constant concern about the superior class and ideological quality of the party's "backbone" is considered to be a condition for worker and ideological party sameness. The party activists are the backbone, and they possess a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist teachings, party ideology, and world outlook principles upon which the party bases its activities. This is particularly vital and important. The tasks of the Marxist-Leninist party not only include an accurate understanding and reflection of the class interests of the working class and their accomplishments, but also bring class awareness into its ranks, as well as an understanding of current and prospective interests, and the transformation from a "class within itself" to a "class for itself."

Here the question arises of whether the consideration of this ideological outlook issue insofar as some party members are concerned does not violate the equal rights of all party members. Of course not. Above all, those who join our party know very well, or should know, that our party is

materialistically oriented in outlook, and moreover they are aware of what kind of party they are joining and why. The party expects the evolution of the attitudes of those party members who retain their religious beliefs upon their entrance into the party.

W. Loranc was correct in stressing that upon joining the party one can accept only its political objectives while recognizing the others without, however, being prepared for the honest and practical affirmation of those objectives. The refusal, however, to evolve one's attitudes within the party and evolve with the party in its development would negate the party's ideological strength. In that case, the party is forced to exist within the world it finds. At the same time the party desires to continue changing the world.

Definitely no, because every political party is comprised of activists of various levels and ranks of so-called central and local high-level and low-level collective leadership and membership groups. Each of these places higher demands upon its activist members, central and local party cell workers, party aktiv, and particularly the ideological front aktiv. They represent the party's backbone. This is perfectly normal, and that is how it is in our party.

To clarify the matter, let us add that our party prompts its members to increase their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist ideology and its philosophical principles. It does this through its legal obligations. It assists in the acquisition of this knowledge by organizing mass party training on various levels, provincial party schools, academic-type schools and educational institutions. Therefore, each party member not only has a theoretical but also a real opportunity to become a party activist, specifically a member of the central and local cells, their problem-solving committees, or a Central Committee, provincial committee, etc., instructor, designated by the party to serve in government and sociopolitical organizations, and recommended for government positions, etc.

The party does not examine its members with regard to their active and passive knowledge of the principles of the scientific-worldview. Also, in a formal sense, it does not assess its members in accordance with outlook criteria which would be characteristic for a denominational party, for example, the Christian Democratic Party. Practical activity and commitment in the fulfillment of a party program, results achieved as well as participation in the political struggle with the opposition and others opposed to the party's ideology represent the basic criteria for appraisal of the party aktiv and the activists, and prejudices such an evaluation. This criterion is also represented by the authority of the activists and workers among the broad masses of party members, among the working class and its ties with the party, etc.

As a matter of fact, insofar as the new situation in the party regarding compliance with the principles of intraparty democratic centralism is concerned, the mass membership makes the decision of who will be a party

worker or activist, and at what level. Experience has shown that party members are well aware of the criteria which workers and activists are responsible for. Taking into consideration the fact that we are a mass party, experience shows that the mistakes which were and still are being made are quite infrequent.

The criteria mentioned are clear and explicit and preclude the so-called duplicity of those party members retaining their religious beliefs, or a so-called conflict in world outlook. The element which counteracts such possible manifestations is also being treated by the party, insofar as religion is concerned, as a secondary issue, a fact which I noted earlier.

The question of so-called world outlook conflict is thrust upon us by our adversaries. Some who have almost accepted socialism are directed by good intentions, but do not know nor do they comprehend the membership criteria very well. On the other hand, opponents of the party and of socialism do this in a premeditated manner. As a matter of fact, "conflict on world outlook" can be "experienced" by those who joined the party merely because of career motivation. It is obvious that some indeed join ruling parties with such motives in mind. They believe that "one can serve various gods" in order to achieve personal goals. Such individuals, however, do not remain in the party very long. Their duplicity is disagreeable both to the church and the party.

At times, certain party members also express the apprehension that those party members who retain their religious beliefs might come to dominate the party and thereby obliterate its identity and weaken its ideological activity. The experiences of many of the mass Marxist-Leninist parties whose members are also religious working-class people do not warrant such concerns. The history of both the PPR and PZPR also demonstrates that these apprehensions are unfounded. Our party has never and does not currently ignore the social and ideological functions of religion. The July 1958 Central Committee letter to the PZPR provincial, district, and local executive board committees, whose reasoning has retained its influence, stresses among other things that "Marxist world outlook constitutes the basic ideology of our party. The ideology of our party is basically incompatible with any idealistic outlook on life." Nevertheless, "for the majority of the people, religion represents a habit, a very private matter and one not linked to everyday work or social or political activity. Many persons in Poland reconciled their personal religious beliefs in the past and are also doing so currently while participating in the revolutionary struggle and in the building of a socialist society. Therefore, a considerable number of our party members dedicated to socialism are also religious." In view of this the party has never prohibited religious individuals from joining the party ranks, especially the workers and peasants who have satisfied all other membership conditions.

In our party, "the inclusion of religious individuals in its ranks, as the experts have emphasized, has never been considered a basic threat to the party line, nor to its internal unity. Apprehensions that the inclusion of religious individuals in the party can, for example, lead to the creation of centralized tendencies or fragmented centers on this level have proven to be unjustified." ("Selected Problems of Marxist Study of Religion," KiW 1972).

This does not mean that persons with clerical inclinations have not penetrated the party. Of course, there have been such cases. They concealed their true countenance. The majority of them relinquished their party cards during the post-August period of fervent political struggle, which seemed superfluous to them. They revealed themselves. We cannot deny that people with clerical inclinations still remain in the party. Some even manifest their clericalism or religiousness, given passive POP attitudes. They, however, have no future in our party.

12229

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHURCH, POLITICS EXAMINED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Maciej Kozlowski: "The Church and Politics"]

[Text] I realize that the title of these remarks alone can cause an annoyed reaction. An allergic reaction to the word "politics" is quite common. It is attested to, for example, by the linguistic usage in which the word "politics" is usually accompanied by the verb "to meddle in," as if the very fact of one's brushing against this sphere of life was something to be ashamed of. On the other hand, "not meddling in politics" is a magical formula protecting one from evil. Unfortunately, history teaches that even when someone makes every effort "not to meddle in politics," politics often encroaches on one's most personal and intimate affairs. Therefore it seems to me that a certain explanation of conceptions in this domain can be useful, since it has become overgrown with numerous misunderstandings, prejudices and taboos.

The basic thing is to define the conceptions. Despite appearances, the terms used in the title are not at all synonymous. Let us begin with the Church. This concept has an altogether different sense for believers and for non-believers. For believers, the Church represents, above all, transcendental existence, and the visible, earthly form of the Church is only one of its aspects. This was specified clearly by the Second Vatican Council's "Lumen gentium," the dogmatic Constitution concerning the Church: "Christ, the only Intermediary," established his Holy Church, the community of faith, hope and love, as a visible organism here on this Earth; he also continually maintains it, pouring through it truth and grace onto all. The community equipped with hierarchical organs and the Mystical Body of Christ, the visible association and the spiritual community, the earthly Church and the Church endowed with divine gifts--cannot be perceived as two separate, contrasting things; they form one composite reality which grows out of the divine and the human elements."

For nonbelievers, however, this unity does not exist. For them the Church is only a hierarchically organized international community with its own headquarters and considerable material wealth, which imposes on its members discipline in all spheres of life. I am simplifying it, of course, nevertheless one must realize that there exists such a vision of the Church.

The term "politics" is more difficult to define. For the Church, politics means above all "a wise concern for the common good"--in John Paul II's words. For nonbelievers, and often also for believers involved in the political game, it usually means, to quote the PWN "Wielka Encyklopedia" [Polish Science Publishers' Great Encyclopedia], "a sphere of social activity connected with the pursuit and maintenance of power." The "Encyclopedia's" authors admit already in the introduction that the term is variously defined and not uniformly understood. In any case, the latter understanding of the definition has been most common. One could agree with this definition without any problems if it were not for the drastic divergence of opinions concerning the area of the sphere connected with the questions of power. Thus, disputes usually focus on the question whether a given kind of social activity has political implications or ought to be free of them. There are countries and systems where the sphere reserved for politics is relatively narrow. The political game is carried on in the groups of professionals, specialists in this domain, to whom society has turned over the care of the state while pursuing its own affairs--considered as apolitical--and only every so often during the act of electing, expresses toward those specialists a vote of confidence or nonconfidence. There, however, are also systems where everything, including women's and men's fashions and the styles of artistic expression, not to mention the whole sphere of the economy, assumes a political character and where practically no sphere of life remains excluded from the criteria of politics.

The picture is additionally clouded by the fact that the actors on the political stage are usually motivated in all their actions by "wise concern for the common good," while often the only goal is "maintaining or expanding the range of power."

It is precisely the diversity of meaning and different understanding of the same words which frequently leads to serious disagreements and misunderstandings. The Church's social teaching is aware of this diversity. John Paul II in his encyclical "Laborem excercens" pointed it out when discussing the role of trade unions. He wrote: "The activity of trade unions undoubtedly enters the domain of 'politics,' understood as wise concern for the common good. At the same time, the task of the trade unions is not carrying out politics in the meaning which it is commonly given to this word today. Unions do not have the character of political parties fighting for power and ought not to be subject to the decisions of political parties, nor have close ties with them."

It is likewise with the Church. As an earthly community, the Church, both through its activity and its teaching, undoubtedly enters the domain of politics as "a wise concern for the common good"; at the same time, in numerous documents, pronouncements and the whole of its activity, it renounces with full force any pursuit of politics as a power game. On this issue the Second Vatican Council expressed itself clearly and unequivocally: "The Church, which does not identify itself in any way by the right of its task and authority with any political community nor ties itself to any political system, is at the same time a sign and guarantee of the transcendental character of the human person." "The political community and the

Church are independent and autonomous in their domains" ("Gaudium et spes" 76).

This is what the Church declares. From the aspect of politics, however, only the earthly and temporary form of the Church is seen. And in that form, even although not an active participant in the political game, the Church plays an enormous political role whose importance is especially great in the present times. Here we must also realize the difference between a passive and an active political role. A passive role consists in participation in the power game, in the maintaining, extending and solidifying of power--or overthrowing or weakening power. In this game political parties or groups must take realities into consideration and it is precisely these realities, which constitute the passive political factors. It is obvious and understandable that in every political system the existence of any autonomous organized community, a community with its own hierarchical structure and an exceptionally strong internal vision, must be a factor of political significance, no matter what the goals of that community are--a factor which must be taken into consideration in the political game. Obviously, that role in pluralistic societies is different than in societies which are--let us say--less pluralistic. In the former, the Church, despite its exceptional rank and position, is one of numerous autonomous social structures, and therefore its voice, although important, is only one of the voices. The issue looks different in societies of the other type. Here the Church often is the only autonomous structure, which naturally increases its importance. It is, I emphasize, a passive role, resulting from the very fact of the Church's existence. This role is so important especially today, precisely because of its complete detachment from the sphere of politics understood as a game. Standing outside of any political game and not pursuing any earthly power, the Church gains special authority. Its voice on social or even political issues, as a voice of a neutral witness, is of continually growing importance on the international forum as well as in particular countries.

We have mentioned that the Church constitutes an essential political factor by the very fact of its existence. The plane of meeting of those two spheres does not, however, end there. Although the Church has no intention of pursuing earthly power under any guise or any pretext, it does not deny, on the contrary, it firmly emphasizes, that acting here on the Earth, among people and for their good, it cannot leave the sphere of politics--along with every other--outside of the field of its interest. We have quoted above a fragment of the "Gaudium et spes" Constitution, in which the Church declares itself as a community which is outside of, or to be more specific, above, politics. Further on this question is made more precise: "Both communities (i.e., the Church and the political community), although by different authority, serve the individual and social call of the same people. The better they develop a healthy cooperation between each other, taking into its consideration the conditions of place and time, the more effectively they will perform this service. Man is not limited only to the temporary order, but living in history he retains his eternal calling in totality. The Church, on the other hand, founded on the Savior's love, contributes to the spread of justice and love more broadly within and among the nations. The Church, teaching the evangelical truth and illuminating by the light of its

teaching and by the testimony given by the faithful, all domains of human activity, respects and also supports political freedom and the responsibility of citizens." ("Gaudium et spes" 76).

The structure of the Church is derived from the awareness of its mission and the necessity of being present where political decisions are made. The structure, which through the Vatican State is the subject of international law, maintains diplomatic relations with numerous governments, and participates in international conferences, the Helsinki Conference for example. The Holy Father, as the head of the Church, spares no time for meetings with political leaders, and delivers pronouncements from the forum of international organizations. In a word, the Church pursues diplomatic activity not purely as a matter of form. Of course, a lot of political wisdom and skill are needed, in order to remain above politics and to avoid being maneuvered into a political game while carrying out those actions. Attempts at manipulating the Church were not infrequent in the past and probably will be just as frequent in the future. Accusations of partiality or, to be precise, of participation in the political game, have and will be made. However, the enormous and continually growing personal authority of the Church--authority so great that even the political forces unfavorable toward the Church recognize it--and of its current Pope, as well as his two great predecessors John XXIII and Paul VI, bears testimony to the fact that these attempts are futile. It is a proof that in the present, extremely difficult times the Church is able to fulfill the role of an unbiased and apolitical ally. I have already mentioned that in the political game that is carried on, the Church remains impartial. This does not mean, however, that the Church maintains equal impartiality in the matter which is the subject of that game. The Church has its own, clearly defined and not at all vague vision of a proper form of social relations. It teaches this vision and in its own ways tries to achieve its fulfillment. John XXIII in the encyclical "Mater et Magistra" (2) in strong words outlined the Church's duties in the spread and implementation of its teachings: "Today more than ever these principles must not only be learned and thought thoroughly, but also implemented in such a form and manner as it is required by the various conditions of time and place. It is a difficult but important task, whose fulfillment we are calling not only our Brothers and Sons from the whole world, but all the people of good will to achieve."

"We want to emphasize first of all that the Catholic Church's social teaching must not be separated from its teaching of the human life. Therefore we desire very much that its social teaching be increasingly more studied. (...) Let it reach us in every way provided by contemporary technology, namely by the daily press and periodicals, by scientific and popular literature, and finally, by appropriate radio and television broadcasts."

Of course, this is no place to present in detail all of the Church's social teaching. Its cohesive and complete exposition is enclosed in the great encyclicals, from "Rerum Novarum" of Leo XIII to "Laborem exercens" of John Paul II, as well as the Vatican Council documents, above all, the "Gaudium et spes" Constitution and the "Dignitatis humanae" Declaration. This teaching

appears throughout all of the Popes' pronouncements. The current Polish Pope has performed especially great service in spreading the Church's social teaching. In the course of his numerous ministerial travels he has specified the directives of this teaching and its application to "time and place."

To put it briefly, the whole of the Church's social teaching is based on the unshakable truth expressed most fully in the encyclical "Redemptor hominis" of John Paul II. "The first and basic road of the Church is man, his dignity, which is the dignity of God himself, his freedom and his rights which must be respected. Man lives in society and enters into numerous communities and relations with other people. The Church's basic concern is, therefore, to make human life more worthy of man, more human" ("Gaudium et spes" 91). From this and exclusively from this point of view it examines the political and social systems and all manifestations of the political game.

The Church believes that it possesses the only truth, the revealed truth. Its task is to protect this truth and to teach it, winning to it everybody's hearts. The Second Vatican Council, however, unequivocally defined the methods in which this truth can and ought to be taught, namely, only by reaching man, convincing him and winning him by the power of this truth alone. Fundamental in this respect are the words of the Declaration on Religious Freedom, so often quoted by John Paul II: "Truth does not impose itself otherwise than by the power of truth alone, which finds its way into the minds of unification gently and strongly" ("Dignitatis humanae" [1]).

True religious freedom must be secured by political systems if the Church is to fulfill its mission. The Church understands this freedom in a broad way, acknowledging it as the basic manifestation of attitude toward man in general. Thus the issue is not just the "freedom of teaching and of religious faith," but freedom in a social context. In the Vatican Council decree "Dignitatis humanae" we read: "Freedom, or protection from enforcement in the matters of religion, to which individual persons are entitled, ought to be granted them also when they act collectively, for both man's social nature and the nature of religion itself require the existence of religious communities. (...) Religious communities also have the right not to be obstructed in public teaching of their faith, orally and in writing. (...) In addition, religious freedom requires that religious communities not be impeded from manifesting freely the special value of their teaching to the organization of society and to the enlivening of the whole human activity. And finally, the law entitling people to use their religious sense to hold meetings freely and form associations with educational, cultural, charitable and social goals is founded in man's social nature and in the essence of religion itself." ("Dignitatis humanae" 4).

Religious freedom must be placed in the broader context of freedom in general, including political freedom. The first proclamation of John Paul II to World Peace Day was dedicated precisely to the issue of freedom, which, according to the words of John XXIII in his "Pacem in terris" encyclical, is one of the four pillars sustaining the edifice of peace. [----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and exhibitions, article 2, point 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. There

is no true freedom when the freedom of particular individuals is absorbed by collectivity "denying man and his individual and collective history any transcendence" (Proclamation for the XIV World Peace Day [2]).

As I have already mentioned, the Church has built a cohesive vision of a desired social order on these foundations, also strongly urging its lay followers to participate actively in the building of this order when carrying out political activity. With one reservation, however: in political activity, as well as in their individual lives, lay people follow the command of their consciences and the teaching of the Church. In the "Octogesima adveniens" pastoral letter, Paul VI teaches: "Politics is a difficult way--and not the only one--of carrying out the Christian duty of serving others. Not being able to solve all problems at once, politics attempts to propose ways of establishing relations between people. The range of its activity is broad and very complex, nevertheless it cannot aim at exclusivity. The aggressive attitude of the state bent at dominating everything contains a great danger. Therefore Christians who intend to participate actively in political activity, in recognizing the autonomy of politics, will make efforts to conform to the requirements of the Gospel and to give--within the legal pluralism of institutions and opinions--a personal and collective testimony to the truth and sincerity of their faith, by serving people effectively and unselfishly" ("Octogesima adveniens" [46]).

In the encyclical "Populorum progressio," the same Pope clearly outlined the duties in this domain of lay people and of the hierarchy: "It is necessary that in developing nations, as well as in others, lay people know that the improvement of the temporary order is their duty. While the duty of the hierarchy is to teach and authoritatively explain moral laws and commandments, which must be obeyed, lay people, without passively waiting for orders and directives, have the duty to imbue with Christian sense not only people's mores and consciences, but also the laws and structures of lay society" ("Populorum progressio" [81]).

It seems that the essential thought placing the Church's position in relation to the matters of politics is contained in these very words. The Church as a community does not participate in the political game, nevertheless it has the right and the duty to speak up on all the moral issues, including those which deal with the matters of politics, and the guidelines of the Church in this regard are obliging for the faithful.

The "Gaudium et spes" Constitution specifies this right and duty of the Church in a clear and unequivocal way: "Matters that are temporary and those, which in man's current state surpass this world, are closely connected. Even the Church itself makes use of temporary matters to the degree to which its proper mission requires. Nevertheless it does not place its hopes in the privileges offered it by the state powers; moreover, it will renounce its use of certain legally acquired laws if it turns out that using them undermines the sincerity of its testimony or that new conditions of life call for a different structure of relations. The Church ought to have, always and everywhere, true freedom in teaching the faith, in its social teachings and in the unimpeded carrying out of its duty among people. This includes the

pronouncement of moral opinion even in questions regarding political matters, when this is required by the fundamental rights of the person or by the salvation of souls, using all the means, and exclusively those means, which are in conformity with the Gospel and with the common good according to the diversity of time and conditions" ("Gaudium et spes" [76]).

In these words of the council's Pastoral Constitution we find not only the definition of the Church's place and role in the political community, but also a warning against involvement in political dependencies which can weaken the Church's will and its possibilities to make moral judgement and to disseminate its social teaching. In a word, the Church must avoid involvement in politics in order to be able to, without obstacles, give testimony to truth.

I believe that John Paul II understands the Church's mission in precisely this way. In a famous book which records conversations with Andre Frossard, he is asked whether the Gospel teaches us any politics. In his answer, the Pope quotes the contents of Christ's conversation with Pilate. Further on he says: "Although the answer Christ gave to Pilate does not correspond directly to the essence of your question, indirectly it will seem indispensable to us in answering this question. The point is that we are dealing with a particular domain of serving the truth. Politics is such a domain."

Later on, in examining the ambiguity of the word "politics" and wondering whether it is to be a "social ethic," as Aristotle wanted, or a "technique of executing power," which has been heavily affected by utilitarianism, the Pope says: "If the Church speaks up on political matters, it does it in the name of its teaching mission, which as a principle encompasses the "issues of faith and morality," applying the interpretation of the moral law enclosed in the Gospel or finding its affirmation in it. In this meaning it teaches the "social ethic," leaving to people with the appropriate authority the technique itself of executing power--indeed, continually expressing concern in its role as teacher and pastor whether the technique of executing power has utilitarian character and serves social justice, that is, the common good of the members of the political community (...). For this reason the Church's statements are so frequent. They are explained by the necessity to be faithful to the Gospel... and faithful to man. From them derive the obligations of giving testimony to truth, like Christ did to Pilate. Recalling that dialog once more, one must say that the Church must have profound awareness of the Kingdom which is not of this world, in order to be able to express itself on the matters of man as well, which are of this world. Here man's real character is transcendence, too. In order to meet with it, to attest it to--and to make man aware of it, to reveal it to man--we must give testimony to truth."

12270

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CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALISM EXAMINED

Socialism Compatible With Polishness

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 25, 21 Aug 82 pp 3, 4

[Article by Wojciech Sokolewicz: "Polish Model of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] We began to create such a model during the first few years after the war. The solutions adopted at that time in the realm of the state regime cannot be explained solely in terms of the political tactics dictated by the domestic situation and international relations nor by the need to consider the mentality of the society whose support was being sought. The solutions also included elements of a long-range program and a specific strategy for the construction of socialism.

They should be viewed in the context of the overall organization of collective life. These solutions were predicated by what was called at that time a three-sector economy, including a significant private sector, whose lasting quality was confirmed by the results of a popular vote conducted in 1946. As a footnote, we should mention that the question posed in the referendum was supplemented by this problem at the request of the Democratic Party. In the same year, 1946, Wladyslaw Gomulka said: "Our democracy has many elements of socialist democracy as well as many elements of liberal bourgeois democracy, just as our economic regime has many features of both socialist and capitalist economies."

Next, the structure of political forces influenced the specific solutions of the regime of that period, and far more directly. Operating legally and participating even in the government were parties which openly did not support the program of socialist changes, and sometimes great disputes occurred between the block parties and the PPR concerning the rate, scope, and nature of these changes.

Third, the regime institutions' liking for those institutions existing in the Soviet Union was understandable as a declaration of the coming declaration of state sovereignty. The opinion on this issue was very sensitive in a nation which had just won its freedom following the occupation. Let me quote Gomulka again: "There are two reasons why Poland cannot be a Soviet Republic," he said in 1945. "First, the Polish nation does not want it, and second, the Soviet Union does not want it." This was not the only consideration. Alongside national

resentments, the rather general distrust of socialism was important, especially the distrust of socialism in its Marxist-Leninist interpretation. Its ideas were considered to be an imported product forced on an unwilling clientele.

Fourth, it was necessary to consider the above-mentioned international relations and the attempts the new leadership made to be recognized by the Western participants in the great coalition.

The prospects for socialist changes were initially defined in terms of a distant time horizon. "The road to socialism is not short and cannot be simplified" (W. Gomulka, 1945). In all areas, including the economic, political, and legal-structural areas, there was formed in the collective life of the society a mixed organization, which indeed was calculated to be temporary but also to last a rather long time. What is more, certain elements of this organization could certainly be maintained on into the more distant future.

The problem of taking national characteristics into account even then was not limited to our own method, forms, and way of building socialism but also included the final effect of this construction, the target model of socialism. It is hard to take the words W. Gomulka proclaimed at the first PPR congress any other way: "We want to build and are building this all-national house with a thought to the needs and possibilities of the Polish nation. We are carefully following the construction models of other nations and their good and bad sides, but we are building our house according to our own blueprints." Besides everything else, this position was deeply realistic. The difference between tourism and politics lies among other things in the fact that on a trip you can take several roads to reach the same point, but in politics the means have an important influence on the goal reached using them.

Independent of the fact that the democracy of this first postwar period made broad use of traditional liberal-bourgeois forms, it had its own limitations and should not be glorified. A fierce conflict grew out of the struggle for power with all its consequences. In this struggle, the state machinery did not remain neutral. The blows intended were not always wielded with the greatest precision. Despite the various declarations, for example, at the above-mentioned first PPR congress, the revolutionary law and order was not always treated as the supreme value in the face of immediate political success. This had an impact on the practice of applying entirely democratic procedures in elections to the legislative Sejm in 1947. The first general elections to the local people's councils were not held until 1954.

The initial strategic concept underwent a basic change in 1948. The illegal and legal opposition had already been eliminated. Now there were preparations to unite the two worker parties against the backdrop of a program of accelerated socialist changes. The people's democracy ceases to be a mixed system and becomes a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. The previous strategy is condemned. Its spokesman, Wladyslaw Gomulka, is removed from power. In 1948 Boleslaw Bierut said: "The Polish road to socialism, despite the fact that it has its own characteristics, is not something qualitatively different but merely a variant on the general way of development leading to socialism."

Socialism taken this way also means the unification of democratic forms of the political system. Insofar as they do not apply to terminology and insignificant details, the differences between the socialist countries can be explained in terms of different stages of development. Thus, there begins to emerge the mirage of moral-political unity of the nation which is disrupted by the machinations of criminal elements and class enemies. The National Front soon comes into being, but the representative of the most international state leadership in Poland's history will call Roman Dmowski from the government tribune to be the father of Polish nationalism.

These are times of extreme economic, political, and administrative centralization, and at the same time, an era of a brutal, unnecessary breakdown in law and order. The next benchmark is the year 1956, which marked not only the return of the former leader but also, along with him, some elements of the policy he had previously waged. There was a slowing of rural collectivization. Extreme requirements made of artists and scientists were removed, although not always with sufficient consistency. Wider church activity was permitted. It is true that the most glaring distortions in the realm of legislation and application of law were removed, but this did not fulfill all the promises in Gomulka's address to the October plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, and the changes in the forms and practices of socialist democracy barely touched the surface of public life. The government operating model was basically the same, taken from the previous group. Given the inadequacies in the face of real needs, social aspirations and public expectations, soon there began one of the main causes of successive upheavals and crises: 1968, 1970, 1976, 1980 ...And perhaps we should stop there?

Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski used the following term in his first address after the introduction of martial law: the Polish model of socialist democracy for naming the way in which democracy is practiced under the conditions of a socialist Polish state. In my view, there is an urgent need to create a theoretical, future Polish model of socialist democracy deeply linking socialism to Polishness in various contexts, alongside the theoretical model.

Such a model, which would express the whole, cohesive vision of the goal, could become an important part of the program platform of the Patriotic National Rebirth Movement (PRON) and become a guideline for reform activity in the political, state, and legal sphere.

Various reforms conducted gradually, but without unnecessary delay, should bring this overall vision closer by resolving partial problems which are always to be viewed in connection with the total goal. The present time should be a time not only for making the socialist renewal permanent but for intensifying it and making it deeper. The sequence of changes made in various parts of the socialist democratic Polish model would activate the broad ranks of society more than any sort of verbal declarations, and at the same time it would prevent the renewal of conservative attitudes which are alive in certain circles of the state, political, and economic bureaucracy.

It is understandable that the question should arise as to the sort of elements that this model should comprise and the way in which its national separateness would be expressed. This is a basic question, and there is no room here to present a developed answer beyond merely the repetition of banal generalizations which are beside the point.

I think that it is a question of a network of institutions and the relationships between them, taken in dynamic terms, which project the following in action and in practical implementation, for example:

a broad sphere of effectively guaranteed civil rights and liberties, including political ones, broad enough to

make it possible to articulate even in state institutions the various interests of groups and to express different private views, always based on jointly recognized basic (general national) goals and without undermining the constitutional principles of the organization of the state and society;

while leaving the law the role of expressing the most important interests and of being the supreme regulator of the behavior of both state officials and functionaries and also of citizens and their associations and organizations.

Let us stop at this last assumption. In the address already mentioned above, Premier Jaruzelski decisively expressed the desire to bolster law and order. The Sejm gave top billing to this issue too in the bill passed right afterwards. We must not underestimate these declarations. I think that one of the causes leading to the situation last December was the failure to understand the essence of law and order and the lack of skill in using the law.

Law is an instrument of policy, and only the most naive of the naive can have any doubts about this. But it is also true that law can serve political strategy effectively -- please forgive the oversimplification -- provided that it is independent of political tactics. It defends the most basic, lasting, universal values, and for this reason requires respect, for example, from state officials, even when it is not convenient at the moment in a concrete situation to go along with its strict requirements. But then it is also only then that there can be an effort to create the social habit of adhering to the law, when the citizenry notices the high place law and order holds in the hierarchy of values being cultivated in the practical action of government institutions.

The overwhelming majority of the citizenry would probably share the desire for a properly interpreted, concretized, and developed principle of law and order to be put into the Polish model of socialist democracy. Practical action is already being taken to fulfill this desire.

Hence, the manner of creating law is being improved. A draft is being prepared for a social consultation law which would define who is to consult whom on what sort of documents and at what stage, and, what is more important, what sort of action is required with regard to the public comments made, how binding the reaction would be on the authors of the legislation. Arbitrary

action in this realm undermines the social significance of consultation as an institution, which has been a constitutional one since 1976, unifying the elements of direct and representative democracy. The advisability of legal regulation here seems obvious.

Equally necessary however would be legal regulation and modification of the system of sources of law and, generally speaking, the procedures for creating legislation, which would appear in the law on legislation, which has already been many years in preparation. Such regulation and modification would be especially necessary with respect to the economic reform and the attempt to get away from the order-distribution method of running the economy. There is some uneasiness over the fact that these preparations have borne much fruit in scientific treatises, with at least three monographs devoted solely to them, but there is no visible legislative result. During the past few months somehow less is heard about the entire matter.

As for applications of the law, a whole group of new legal regulations has come into being. Of these the most spectacular ones are creating the institutions of the State Tribunal and the Constitutional Tribunal, something completely new in our postwar law. From the viewpoint of shaping prolegalistic attitudes and legal culture in our society, with it taking a direct part in even exercising authority, the most dangerous thing now would be to keep these newly created tribunals idling without getting their activity started. As everyone knows, the laws on the legal profession and on legal councils have been approved. The draft to amend the law on the regime of the general courts is in preparation to implement, for example, the idea of the judicial self-government as an additional guarantee of the independence of the judiciary.

The reason I have devoted so much space in my comments to the question of law, is mainly that it is only proper, consistent solutions which can make legal solutions practically effective assurances of democracy and the legal framework of the Polish model of this democracy, although I do not restrict myself to such solutions. For these guarantees to be significant, of course, it is necessary for the law to be respected by state bodies and officials in all cases, absolutely, and for every violation of it to set in motion the mechanism of an immediate corrective control action.

'Polish Socialism' Unequal to Popular Support

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 50, 14 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Wilkowski: "Everything Clear and Simple--Polemic with W. Sokolewicz"]

[Text] A discussion article by W. Sokolewicz appeared in TU I TERAZ 47/83. Following S. Kwiatkowski's article in TU I TERAZ 35/83, this is another "perhaps-attempt," "perhaps-way" to define the process of the construction of socialism in Poland, a process that has now been going on for close to 40 years.

I do not agree with the many threads of the so-called concept of "Polish socialism." The above-mentioned article by this well-known author contained many oversimplifications, too many for the silence to remain unbroken. Nor are there any answers to many absolutely key questions which force themselves to our lips in conjunction with the issue the author raises.

Here are some of them:

1. Since we are already talking about "Polish socialism," this means that there are also other national sorts of socialism: Soviet, Hungarian, Vietnamese, Arabic, and maybe even French, Swedish, and so on perhaps can exist. (Mary dear, right up to daylight). The results of W. Sokolewicz's supposed concept are not difficult to predict. Some of the experience of people's democracies is similar. As a country and as a nation, Poland is not and never has been something exceptional among socialist countries. The regime of the Polish People's Republic is in a sense the basis and purpose of its development as that very regime, must like the regime of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, GDR, and so on. The differences which appear among these countries in the realm of the means by which this goal is achieved do indeed justify a discussion of the specific national characteristics, but they do not justify the definition of a whole process of socialist construction called national socialism, or Polish socialism. Does Sokolewicz's concept of Polish socialism introduce some modification into the universal principles of the construction of socialism? Only an affirmative answer to this question could justify its existence. The author himself does not give that answer in his deliberations, because the details he presents concerning the distinct nature of Polish socialism call, as he says, for a specific social structure, a specific structure of power and a specific individual legal situation, but these features in no way interfere with the content of even the most important of the universal principles, that is, the socialization of ownership and production relations, which at most can and do have an impact on the manner and rate of the process of socialism, which of course is not taken to be a single act of nationalization. The situation is similar with the impact of these differences on the other universal principles of socialist construction, which are no more than the synthetic expression of socialism as a universal ideology with universal ideas responding to eternal human needs and aspirations. Respect for and consistent implementation of the universal principles in the construction of socialism need not, as Sokolewicz writes, lead to "the elimination of the differences in the relatively near future." Polish society (and others) are no longer frightened by this scare tactic. It has become common knowledge that this is fundamentally at odds with Leninist information about the various ways of building socialism, as confirmed by the practice of development among the European socialist countries.

On the other hand, in terms of the historical context to which the author alludes, we can only talk about the contribution of native Marxist thought in the process of shaping the overall idea of socialism. We should take the greatest possible advantage of this contribution, especially when it pertains to the very beginnings of the building of a socialist regime in Poland, but we cannot superimpose (and therefore overvalue) the contribution of Polish Marxists on the experience of the whole international workers' movement.

There are too many valuable, current implications coming out of them which have meaning for the process of building socialism in our country too, but this process, as in other countries, takes place under concrete international conditions. The basic conflict of our era is the conflict between socialism and capitalism, and it is still an open one. All our country's domestic problems are actually being played out against the backdrop of this conflict.

2. The author's proposition does not place the formula of "Socialism in Poland" in opposition to the formula of "Polish Socialism," and this failure cannot stand up to criticism. The author himself says that the difference between them is important (and I agree with this statement). Since this is so, it is obvious that in the given structure of the formula, these two may have the relationship to one another of the North Pole to the South Pole. The formula of "Socialism in Poland" or even better: "the process of building socialism in Poland" first of all contains what is universal and common, what consists of the basic principles of socialism, but at the same time it assumes that the conditions for their implementation are concrete and specific, according to the country in which the revolution has been victorious.

3. It is not convincing to equate the important differences which have come into being during the past process of the implementation of socialism with the so-called Polish road to socialism. The formula "Polish way to socialism" applies to concrete historical reality and that "because we have agreed to the essential differences in the process of implementing socialism." Sokolewicz's is in a doubtful qualitative relationship with this formula. From the above it would after all follow that we Poles could agree to something or not in 1945, 1948, or 1956. This artificial dilemma did not exist then, but what did exist and does to this very day is the result of a given political struggle, the result of the abrasive confrontation of various concepts. The specific Polish features are not the result of some sort of agreement but of a process which really exists (an initially bloody one).

4. According to the author, the demand that party program documents describe a concept of Polish socialism, as a union of goals and ways leading to them, is to be "the next step on the road to gaining public acceptance for the matter of socialist construction." Hardly anything could be less true. Sokolewicz's concept of "Polish socialism" is based, among other things, on the differences and experience of nearly 40 years of a process of making socialism a reality in our country. I think the author is aware of the social acceptance of the results of this process. So then, is the very definition of the postulated concept of "Polish socialism" in the PZPR program, therefore giving these differences the nature of something programmed and lasting, to be some sort of panacea in exchange for the society's relationship to socialism, the "one opportunity to recreate the bond between the authorities and the main factions of society"? This postulate is highly controversial, and in my opinion it has no future.

5. Sokolewicz assigns the party and the state a specific place in the concept of "Polish socialism." The state should "implement PRON ideology and not only that of the party." The statement would seem to be true, but it is not. Does PRON ideology conflict with party ideology? Perhaps it is more progressive? Or is it perhaps more able to meet social expectations?

Certain consequences flow from the PZPR's key role in society and in guiding the state, and these consequences also pertain to the PZPR itself, as a signatory to PRON. This is the only force capable of listing and implementing the ideals of socialism under Polish conditions. By insuring that PRON will be independent and serve as a partner, the PZPR expects it to try first of all to elevate the society's subjective role in bolstering the socialist Polish state. This is one of the key points of the relationship between the party and state, and PRON.

'Polish Socialism' Equals Egotism

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No. 52, 25 Dec 83 p 11

[Article by Norbert Michta: "What Is W. Sokolewicz Striving For?"]

[Text] An article by W. Sokolewicz entitled "Socialism in Poland, or Polish Socialism," was recently published in the weekly TU I TERAZ (23 Nov 1983). It is more than merely my own opinion that the article is an attempt to present "the Polish model of socialism," as essentially an alternative to the program adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR. Another thing that shows this is the fact that the author says nothing about the process of socialist renewal initiated by the congress' resolutions, nor does he formulate a new idea or model of Polish socialism. He merely pretends here and there to show a relationship to the present policy of the party and the government. In the discussion, I have no intention of taking the road which A. Pawlowska selected (article: "Socialism in Poland, Polish socialism, or the Polish Road to Socialism," TRYBUNA LUDU, No 283, 1983), that is, to treat differently the model of "Polish socialism" with the "Polish road to socialism" or to reduce the differences between what W. Sokolewicz says and what follows from the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the resolutions of successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

The outline presently published of the model of "Polish socialism" is a development and some sort of more precise statement of the concepts which W. Sokolewicz presented earlier.

Over a year ago he published an article entitled "The Polish Model of Socialist Democracy" in the weekly newspaper PRAWO I ZYCIE (21 August 1982, No 25). The author's point of departure for his deliberations then was "the Polish model of socialism from the first few years after the war." He characterized them as featuring a three-sector economy, including both socialist and capitalist elements and a pluralism of political parties. It was the author's opinion that at that time there was "rather common distrust of socialism, especially in its Marxist-Leninist interpretation. It was treated as an imported product thrust on an unwilling clientele." Sokolewicz did not use a single sentence to mention that the program of people's democracy, which he called "a mixed system" developed by the PPR during the period of struggle under Nazi occupation, enjoyed great support from the workers, who took the factories into their own hands, and the peasants, who almost entirely supported the redistribution of just about all the land. On the basis of a cooperative alliance with the Peasants Party and the Democratic Party, the party was recognized by

them as the leading force in the government, but at that time the government power basically was of the nature of a worker-peasant dictatorship. Sokolewicz sees things differently, saying that it was not until 1948 that there began a period of authority in the "form of a dictatorship." Therefore, let us remember the opinion of E. Osobka-Morawski, who explains this issue in a more reliable and flexible way. He writes: "The dictatorship of the proletariat had the pure form of two workers parties representing the entire Polish enlightened proletariat in a united front. There was bound to be a dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland, if there was to be a People's Poland at all, if there was to be any change in Polish foreign policy to insure the Poland would exist and have new borders." There was a description, on the other hand, of a real dictatorship of workers and peasants in terms of a form of people's democracy for tactical reasons, given a certain sort of fear of calling things by name. "As a form of government in People's Poland, the dictatorship of the proletariat had to exist to keep the reactionary forces from stamping us out," the former premier continues.

Mr Sokolewicz refers to Gomulka's 1945 statements, which should, on the other hand, be interpreted in a way similar to the manner in which Osobka-Morawski does. If we carefully follow all of Gomulka's statements, that is, also those covering the period from 1945 to 1970, we come to the conclusion that he did not have in mind a "Polish model of socialism" but a "Polish road to socialism," which was implied by adapting Leninism to the new conditions.

Nor was there any great difference between Gomulka and Bierut in their approach to this issue. In 1948 Bierut said: "The Polish road to socialism, despite certain special features, is not something qualitatively different but a variety of the general road of development toward socialism."

Because, according to Sokolewicz, "the model of running governments," despite certain attempts to change it after 1956, "basically remained the same, assumed from the previous team," and therefore "inadequate for the real social needs, spirations, and expectations, one of the major causes of successive shocks and crises: 1968, 1970, 1976, 1980... was shortly to come about."

He wrote that because of this there is "an urgent need to create a future Polish model of socialist democracy alongside the practical one, to unite the various varieties of socialism profoundly with Polishness. Such a model, which would express an overall cohesive vision of the goal, could become an important part of PRON's program level and become a guideline for reform activity in the sphere of politics, government, and law."

Let us recall this sort of model of "Polish socialism" was recommended to us by Sokolewicz more than a year ago and let us remember the sort of elements that were to comprise it and what his "national difference" was to consist of, as he put it. First, it was to insure "a broad range of effectively guaranteed civil rights and liberties"; second, it was "to permit the articulation, even in state institutions, of various private views, but, he adds, always "on the basis of commonly recognized state (general national) values and without undermining constitutional principles of organization of the state and society"; third, "leaving to the law the role of expressing the most important

interests and of acting as the supreme regulator of the behavior both of government officials and functionaries and of citizens and their associations and organizations." The author's sensitivity to this sphere in the superstructure, while understandable owing to his specialization, tends to lead him to confused statements about law which cannot cope with political tactics and to the call for plugging an appropriately developed and concretized principle of law and order into the Polish model of socialist democracy. Let us note something here which is characteristic: W. Sokolewicz emphasizes, correctly so, that the law is to be followed by state bodies and officials absolutely, in all instances, but he seems to overlook the citizens' obligations in this realm.

As formulated, the concept of "a model of Polish socialism" was different from the provisions and line of the Ninth Party Congress, both as to the causes underlining the crises which occurred in the history of the Polish People's Republic and state social policy, and as to the nature of law and order and correct legal procedure. As everyone knows, the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress recognized departures from the principles of socialism in political practice and from the universal principles of communist ideology as the basic source of the social tensions and the protest of the working class. Sokolewicz calls for actually a state based on political pluralism representing and expressing the interests of various social strata and groups. The Ninth Party Congress confirmed the peasants' and working class's leading role in the state and gave their interests priority. Sokolewicz treats the law as a factor operating above the level of class. The Ninth Party Congress set the course to bolster the proper legal procedure, emphasizing the notion that it was to "serve working people." In his address, Premier Jaruzelski mentioned at that time, "The process of improving the law should strengthen our state's socialist foundations and remove the barriers to effective functioning." This is what has been going on ever since the Ninth Party Congress.

Sokolewicz's above-mentioned article recently published in TU I TERAZ gives a developed concept of "Polish socialism," which in his opinion is already being created, although we are trying not to notice and not to make theoretical generalizations from the phenomena actually occurring. This time the author is clearer than he was a year ago in the pages of PRAWO I ZYCIE in his call for the adoption of the formula of the "Polish model of socialism," setting down its lasting, program difference in relation to the nature of certain social relations and organizations and the ways of exercising authority, but he rejects the model of socialism which assumes universality of the goal but recognizes the so-called national specific nature and different type of means in terms of specific details. In other words, he bids farewell to the "Polish road to socialism."

In an interview with his friend Prof. A. Bromka (TU I TERAZ, 29 July 1983, No 26), a professor of political science at McMaster University in Canada, Sokolewicz emphasizes that "a scientist must identify any reluctance to the greatest sort of scrupulousness in differentiating between what is desirable, convenient, or just and what is possible." But in practice he is not faithful

to this principle. Like A. Schaff, he questions the socialist nature of countries of real socialism from the Marxist viewpoint. ("There may be some sort of system, even one based on the nationalization of the basic means of production, one using socialist phraseology," he writes, "which still is not socialism in the full meaning of the word") and falls into voluntarism. Like A. Bromka, Sokolewicz's attitude also undermines the primacy of national affairs in politics in terms of "free aspirations," "the exploitation of sovereignty." This goal may be reached, according to Bromka's 1981 view, through the implementation in Poland of a "special sort of experiment" "regardless of systems solutions" ("As They View Us" POLITYKA, No 11, 1981). Sokolewicz includes this in his formula of the "Polish model of socialism," but while Prof Bromka tries to be a realist and guard against "exceeding a certain limit" and shows the "need for an understandable self-restraint in expanded aspirations" in the thinking of the phrase: "As much freedom as can be achieved at a given stage" (LAD, 17 July 1983), Prof Sokolewicz assumes the role of an "idealist," some sort of new "man of the mistaken," the founder of a new model of socialism in Poland, for which he derives inspiration from the Talmud of Eurocommunism.

Besides crossing his "t's" in presenting the "model of Polish socialism" Sokolewicz simultaneously adopts the methods of ambiguity and misunderstandings and even playing it safe. For example, bringing up the problem, he does not explain when patriotism "slides into the swamp of nationalism," and when "internationalism leads to pointless cosmopolitanism." It is also difficult to find a clear answer to what "the union of socialism and Polishness" consists of, if the author is coming out decisively against narrowing this issue to external symbols and a people's regime." Probably Sokolewicz realizes that his program is opposed to the course of socialist renewal and national rebirth contained in the resolutions of the Party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress, resolutions which are being carried out slowly but surely. Hence the term "differentness of our construction of socialism" is becoming less and less popular in view of the firm grounding of the conviction concerning the need for Poland to tighten all sorts of cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries and to bolster economic integration within the framework of CEMA. Therefore, while he comes out against weakening our bonds with allies, Sokolewicz simultaneously holds the position that the strategy of Polish socialism calls for "taking a number of clarification actions and discussion disputed theoretical problems with allies sooner." What sort of "disputed problems" is he talking about? They are not brought up either in the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress or in any resolution of Central Committee plenary sessions up to and including the 14th plenum. Is Sokolewicz trying to set up a "we vs them" situation? Theoretical discussions in the international workers and communist movement are natural and useful, except that this would be something new and original, if, as he himself puts it, "Must we ourselves establish exactly what sort of content we ascribe to the idea of Polish socialism?" So even Sokolewicz himself is only at the stage of "inspiration" and conceptual formation. I am afraid that his ideas tend to make Poland some sort of testing ground for the implementation of ideas which have not been proved anywhere at any time, ideas which are in conflict with the class nature of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Using the term "the only opportunity to rebuild the bond between the authorities and the major factions of society" (somehow we already know this), Sokolewicz propagates the "Polish model of socialism," the only thing that can guarantee "the basic interests of the nation," with "the sovereign state of the Polish nation." According to him, the state should have a national, superclass structure and not be subject to party leadership but should make its ideology and that of PRON a reality. He recommends expanding "a strong, authentic self-governing cooperative movement, the socialization of socio-economic planning, and governing using the units of the state economy." Because Sokolewicz gives no more precise description of these "important elements of Polish socialism," as he himself emphasizes, he leaves the way open for various interpretations, for example, from the position of anarcho-syndicalism, the program of "Self-governing Republic," and so on. The same applies to the problem he raises about "expanding the social base of authority and power" and decisionmaking by representative and self-governing bodies.

In just about the same fashion as a year ago, in the Polish model of socialism Sokolewicz calls for a revaluing of law and order in mutual relations between the authorities and the citizenry. On the other hand, he supplements the idea of Polish socialism with the new element of a call for "recognizing the special situation of individuals," which in the long run should insure that "individuality will prevail over collectivism." Not only theoretical deliberations but even more, the history of the development of human society confirms that only in mutual relations, in the manufacture of goods, activity, and creativity is human nature improved and upgraded. Obviously on condition that these relations feature cooperation, mutual assistance, good will, and an awareness of the importance of the general interest, not just individual interests. Experience shows that only the unification of efforts, solidarity in work and struggle, has permitted people to get through the greatest tragedies and maintain their existence. The unity and solidarity of the proletariat have played a decisive role in the development of the workers' movement. It is understandable that these values and features, carried into the sphere of production, joint management, and the distribution of services, called collectivism, have been at the foundations of communist morality. Sokolewicz notices only the negative side of collectivism, assuming that society will be subordinate to the authorities and the individual's freedom will be curtailed. Marxism-Leninism assumes that in order for the individual to fully develop, it is necessary to eliminate the exploitation of one person by another, which occurs in the process of the historical development of society from capitalism to communism, through the socialization of the means of production, the increasingly broader and fuller satisfaction of man's material and spiritual needs, the elimination of classes, and the structuring of a higher level of social consciousness. It is only then that unintended possibilities occur for the development of preferences and talents of creative people. Alongside progress in the construction of socialism, called communism of a lower order, conditions gradually arise for satisfying individuals' aspirations and for developing their talents, but this does not happen by way of decrees or by the force of the state's willing it. The freedom of individuals so touted by opponents of socialism becomes a hollow sound, unless it is accompanied by the desire for a radical rebuilding of capitalist society. "Solidarity," so loudly proclaimed by the ideologists, turned into the freedom to strike, to

break regulations of the law, and to ignore work discipline, as a result leading to a decline in production and to social anarchy. Individualism, which gives a decisive role to the behavior and action of individuals in the society, to their initiative, ingenuity, thrust, and the material and personal superiority over others, leads to egotism, arrogance, and social divisions. Under the conditions of a state which is building socialism, the development of individualism would help resurrect capitalist relations.

Sokolewicz correctly recommends the pursuit of "native contemporary and earlier Marxist thought." Therefore let us recall here J. Marchlewski's views. Relations between people under socialism, according to him, ought first of all to have altruism and, therefore, the "ideal of dedicating oneself to the good of others on behalf of the benefit of the population in the name of progress." He noted egotism to be opposed to altruism. The victory of the new ideals over the old morality will not come, however, as the fruit of a single desire under socialism but as the fruit of a long educational process, because, as Marchlewski writes: "we have to overcome the old Adam in ourselves....I am convinced that in its pure form socialist society will not appear until the new generation is brought up in a spirit faithful to the fulfillment of obligations to the whole, in the spirit of a social attitude, in a spirit opposed to egotism in favor of altruism and love for the whole." ("Uspolecznienie gornictwa [Socialization of Mining], Essen, 1919).

It is a well-known fact that W. Sokolewicz is not the only one to put the rights of the individual first without underscoring his duties to the state and society. He is like those who would like to divide up and distribute as much as possible, but do not remember that first of all it is necessary to produce.

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WROCLAW PARTY LEADER DISCUSSES ROLE OF INTELLIGENTSIA

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 23, 9 Nov 83 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Wroclaw, by Andrzej Wisniewski and Lech Winiarski: "Is It Worthwhile To Be an Intellectual?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Secretary, let us try and talk about party work among the intelligentsia, keeping in mind that the struggle for political influence over the intelligentsia communities goes on. Without much ado, we would like to ask you if the party has not already lost this struggle.

[Answer] I am an optimist. With all due regard for the actual and potential role of the intelligentsia in our society, I would like to point out, however, that intelligentsia communities are not the most important area of party work. Primarily the workers provide such an area. We have learned this from all our experience, and emphatically from the experience of the recent years. It is, therefore, no coincidence that we keep reminding--most recently, and with such an emphasis, at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee--that the working class is the principal social force, preponderant in the state. The intelligentsia should, after all, be fully aware of this truth.

[Question] The role of the working class is above any doubts. But, Comrade Professor, this does not mean that there is no need for more perspicacious insight into the place of the intelligentsia in our society, as well as in party work. The recent years' experience, including some anti-intelligentsia sentiments which have emerged here and there, makes us aware of such a need. It would be interesting to hear to what extent party committees realize the significance of political work in intelligentsia communities.

[Answer] During the current reports-elections campaign all over our provincial party organization, we are trying to restore a proper mode of thinking about many important issues. We intend to reach all the primary party organizations and to answer all the current questions and doubts, in order to cut off the various "mental tails" which have been emerging all over the place, and sometimes have triggered alarm signals, but are in fact just

idle running and do not lead us anywhere. I just wonder to what extent are we right in talking about anti-intelligentsia sentiments.

In workplaces, for instance, excessive administration is being criticized, but at the same time we find employees' self-management bodies which quite generously fix the wages of the leading cadres. Such generosity implies an obvious demand that those cadres, the intelligentsia, should demonstrate their qualifications and abilities, their spirit of enterprise in managing and organizing production. I consider it a rational approach. It is, mind you, in step with the party attitude toward the intelligentsia, an attitude recently and unambiguously reiterated, and by no coincidence emphatically expressed, at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee.

Nor should we rest content solely with attitudes. They trigger various party activities, both nationwide and within our region. We have here 8 universities, with over 5,000 academic teachers and 30,000 students. We have institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences and of various ministries, we have libraries and museums, two publishing houses--including the Ossolineum, so valuable for our national culture--as well as three theaters with four stages, a philharmonic, an opera house and a musical theater. We have here a radio and TV center, three dailies, a number of interesting periodicals. Writers of European renown, such as, for instance, Tadeusz Rozewicz, live and write in Wroclaw. All of this amounts to a major intellectual potential.

And, finally, we have to keep in mind that although new provinces have been carved out, Wroclaw remains the capital city of the entire macroregion, and its impact on cultural and scientific as well as economic life is still most significant, if not nationwide then at least for the adjacent provinces. Translating those facts into the language of politics, we believe that no tensions, however strong, can relieve the provincial party organization of its responsibility for the fate of culture and science in our region. We regard it as our share of responsibility for the development of our national culture. Keeping this in mind, the provincial committee constantly remains in touch with the creative community, even though some of them "resent" the party.

[Question] What do such contacts look like?

[Answer] The principal form of our activities consists of individual talks with creative people. Activists of the provincial committee try to frequent various creative communities, to talk, to argue, to calm passions. As a rule, a lot of perseverance is necessary. Some actors, for instance, are eager to show off their contestation, everywhere and whatever the opportunity, even when playing for children. We consider this abnormal, and we try to influence the theatrical community, not without some positive effects. Our actors worked, for instance, in local TV shows even when the boycott of television was still on.

The provincial committee consistently protects the needs of the creative community. We help them in their material and private affairs. But, at the

same time, we have refused, for instance, to permit some fine artists to start a photographic atelier of their own. We told them explicitly that we did not trust them not to duplicate oppositional material. I think we should talk with creative people openly and unambiguously; they respect clear situations. Keeping that in mind, we have said and argued that, regardless of their "resentment," we are going to sponsor socialist culture because it contributes to the national interest.

In our dealings with the creative community we abide by three principles: to solve their problems, as far as possible; always to stay among them; and to move them closer to the party. Within such a framework we have convened a plenary session of the provincial committee, dedicated to cultural affairs, and now we are preparing another session on educational affairs. Our preparations have involved wide strata of public opinion. That is a standing procedure in our work.

In the universities we have arranged for a permanent series of meetings. We are trying to build up an intellectual backup for the provincial committee. We have assembled a group of over 100 permanent advisors, both scholars and workers, who work closely together with our committee. Recently, for instance, I have held over a dozen talks with our economic advisors. It is a most valuable support, since no one can be expected to be an expert on everything. By now, all the secretaries of the provincial committee enjoy similar support. The provincial committee has set up a team of sociologists engaged in most interesting research. They have, for instance, carried out a major survey on the societal approach to the current party policy, and now they intend to check the effectiveness of the impact of our propaganda.

By the way, let me note that even in the journalistic community an opinion concerning the ineffectiveness of our propaganda still persists. Most people do not read papers, especially not the articles dealing with sociopolitical issues. We hope the research will allow us a clearer insight into the causes of this phenomenon. Research, after all, belies various myths. Keep in mind that generalizations which allegedly reflect public opinion frequently circulate based solely on singular and individual opinions. Our survey indicates, for instance, that popular resentment of handicraft is a myth, albeit propagated by a part of our aktiv; it came out that people support further development of handicraft, provided the state authorities would keep it under surveillance.

But let us go back to the main subject of our conversation. Generally speaking, the provincial committee tries to get to the opinion-making community, and to implant in their midst something--namely, certain ideas, views, and convictions--and somebody--namely people who, while themselves convinced, would be able to strengthen there the conviction that we are right.

[Question] What is the impact of such efforts? To what extent do they manage to overcome the "resentment" you mentioned earlier? And, when all is said and done, to what extent does it involve the intelligentsia as a whole, which--after all--includes not only the creative community?

[Answer] That is a tough question, I will not deny it. I would like you to keep in mind that my opinions are based on limited reconnaissance of the situation. First of all, they derive from our collective contacts with the intelligentsia, from meetings where only speakers are active, and therefore it is difficult to know what the audience really thinks. In the second place, they are based on individual talks, but our partners are somehow selected: we talk to people we regard as useful to talk to, and to those ready to talk to us. Here any generalization of impressions is very risky. Having said that, I would like to point out that I feel among the intelligentsia no particular resistance to talking with representatives of the party, mostly, however, on a one-on-one basis.

I have in mind the non-party intelligentsia, since resistance on the part of party members would be a paradoxical oddity indeed. There are, therefore, no difficulties involved, which does not mean, however, that we always part being of one mind. But one can say that there has been a certain breakthrough in this respect. After a stage of shoulder shrugging and claiming that there was nothing worth talking about, we have now entered a stage of talking despite everything, a kind of dialogue. This deserves to be noted. However, had we attempted an analysis in depth, we would probably have had to admit that a part of the intelligentsia still maintains, nevertheless, a somewhat slanted attitude toward our state affairs. I estimate that they are still a majority. There remains, no doubt, the question of their reasons. Some people do not trust our authorities. Others are disappointed, do not believe their actions could bring results. Thus, there are many and various motivations, and the picture is rather complex.

One should also mention our political adversaries, fairly numerous among the intelligentsia. I do not believe we are going to win them over quickly, but I do not see any particular need, either. One has to take soberly into account that it is going to be a long-term opposition which will continue to vex us. I am an optimist, nonetheless. I think the bulk of the intelligentsia is winnable, even though it will probably be a protracted process. I believe in laws of life. One has to make one's living, and it is also very well known that if one has ambition--and the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia consists of ambitious people--sooner or later somebody would like to get ahead, to leave a trace of his own individuality on our life, to do something for the country, to do it together with the party. Provided only that we create better conditions than heretofore.

[Question] Here we have touched a key question. Do you, as a member of the Politburo, believe that our party leadership should necessarily issue a more explicit declaration of intent, addressed to the intelligentsia? Or does the whole issue resolve itself into the proper implementation of a statement already published and repeated again and again?

[Answer] There are truths which should be reiterated. Even the most significant truth by its nature penetrates the human consciousness with a certain delay. Observe the paradox that despite the resolution of the Ninth Congress people still demand a program. Even assuming that they have short-term solutions in mind, while the congress has outlined a long-term

policy, it remains true that its resolutions are not yet fully operative within the popular consciousness. Therefore, to propagate our ideas, they should be repeated again and again. Our declarations of intent, addressed to the intelligentsia, should also be assiduously reiterated. Even more explicitly than up till now? We already have had meetings of the party supreme leadership with workers, with trade unionists, partly with creative communities. However, there has been, as yet, no such meeting with the intelligentsia conceived as a social stratum. There is obviously a need for such a meeting, at least, to start with, with the technical and economic intelligentsia. I think such a gesture would come in handy, as a sign of our regard for the intelligentsia.

[Question] Is there not a need for more profound evaluation of the intelligentsia, for a new look at its role in society? In the past many mistakes, misunderstandings, simplifications in conceiving its role, have accumulated. The crisis has laid bare the political results of this. Finally, we have registered a more significant class reflection in the blatant and troublesome reluctance of working-class and rural youth to study.

[Answer] We will certainly have to do something in the future in order to make it worthwhile to join the ranks of the intelligentsia. The current status of the intelligentsia is low, mainly because of their low financial standing. The financial situation breeds frustration among the intelligentsia, which shares a feeling of social depreciation. Hence, above all, the limited influx of worker and peasant youth to the universities. There is, therefore, a problem of modifying the wage system in a way that will give preference to enhanced qualifications.

[Question] But is it a question of money only?

[Answer] No, of course not. Our research indicates that the aspiration to share in decisionmaking is particularly strong among the intelligentsia. We should therefore consider how to create an outlet for such aspirations. This, however, assumes the overcoming certain psychological barriers. One of them derives from the fact that the authorities always feel a natural urge toward a certain mental comfort, and those at the top often find it difficult to be reconciled with the fact that criticism is a quality characteristic of the intelligentsia. In the past the authorities often used to cuddle yes-men only. Experience has taught us that we cannot expect an uncritical posture on the part of the intelligentsia. We have consciously to assume that the intelligentsia is supposed to play the role of a critical component in our life.

[Question] A partner, therefore, instead of an instrument?

[Answer] A partner, indeed. The whole problem consists in transforming criticism into constructive activity. I think we have designed by now a number of areas conducive to this. A most significant area has been created by the new law on people's councils, which will become operative next year. In the sociopolitical area an important role might be assumed by the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], which--despite a lot of

resistance--attracts significant segments of the intelligentsia, in particular the non-party and Catholic intelligentsia--not necessarily members of various Catholic associations only, but unaffiliated people as well. They join, they do something, they believe their activity has a purpose. It is therefore a positive development.

Finally, I would like to point out that we have in mind a broadly conceived platform of professional activity. This is very important, but often underestimated. We should, for instance, give a broader scope of activity to various associations with intelligentsia membership: scholars, civil servants, artists, technicians. The technical intelligentsia, the industrial cadres, present a major problem. The work force often considers them an unloved "father-figure," while for the authorities they are a "whipping boy." In the long term, the cadres cannot be treated like that. They should be given ample opportunity for independent activity.

[Question] Party organizations apparently can do a lot in this respect. Do you try to make party members in workplaces aware of that?

[Answer] The provincial party organization has worked out a plan which suggests various initiatives to primary party organizations. But there is some trouble with its implementation. Factory committees are often still unable to find a common language with the intelligentsia in their workplace, and sometimes one gets the impression that they do not even realize it. We find it difficult to promote non-party people to leading posts; most of the time it derives from party members not knowing valuable non-party people. We pick reserve cadres, but comrades in workplaces and committees submit names of party members only. We are trying to overcome this, but we need time.

In this context it might be relevant to note that the art of management requires not only professional knowledge but a certain savoir faire in dealing with people. This can be acquired only by working among people; nobody has ever invented a better way to do it. It is true that our cadres should be much more familiar with psychology and sociology. This is unavoidable. But no less necessary is a certain polish, which can be acquired only in dealing with people, including party work. That does not mean that the party should guard its monopoly in appointing its own members only to leading posts. I am opposed to such a claim. Hence follows a simple practical conclusion: non-party people, too, should be given an opportunity to acquire this polish.

[Question] Speaking of cadres, of technical intelligentsia, we would like to ask what prospects the economic reform offers to those people.

[Answer] The situation is far from satisfactory. The technical intelligentsia often keeps aloof from the reform, feels rejected by it. Involved in the reform are mainly economists. Hence, apparently, the strong stress laid in workplaces on wages, costs, and profits, while modernization problems and the need to introduce technical progress are ignored. Under the circumstances, the reform has not as yet triggered a demand for technically

innovative activity. Factory committees, too, are not yet fully capable of involving people in thinking about the future. The aktiv pays most attention to intraparty affairs, and in production, to current issues. The provincial committee strongly impresses on our primary party organizations the need to go beyond their own affairs, to try and inspire thinking about what is going to happen to their workplace in 5 or 10 years' time. It is not easy.

Let us pass now to problems of science. The scientific cadres are now shifting their focus from issues derived from the crisis to a search for substitutive measures and solutions. A lot can be gained here, but it does not promote science. And at the same time, the economic decisionmakers are still convinced, science cannot contribute much: it has to be paid for, but the results are treated with a grain of salt. Consequently, scientific and technical progress is still regarded by the insiders as a private venture of some hotheads. It is true that science will make no miracles, but we have at our disposal a well-prepared potential. The problem is only to set the machinery in motion. The whole issue of scientific and technical progress requires a lot of tidying up, of changing some overly tight rules. It seems that the next modifications of the reform would take it into account. Given the difficulties in acquiring new technologies, our inability to accomplish that could pose severe strains on us and on our economy.

That does not mean that all we can do is wait and see. The provincial committee tries to provide the technical intelligentsia with specific data on the main streams in the world economy. For this purpose we are now preparing a scientific conference with the participation of prominent experts. One conference, in December, will be devoted to trends and prognoses of worldwide industrial development and modernization. Another attempt involves convening bimonthly meetings of leading industrial cadres in selected workplaces, to share experience and discuss ways of solving specific problems. A most interesting recent meeting concerned export issues. We have finally managed to impress some party committees and primary organizations with the need to convene party problematic conferences, not in order to pass resolutions, but simply to provide a forum for posing and discussing problems close to the work force; despite everything, there are some attempts to pay attention to future prospects.

[Question] This might mean that the committee tries to shift the center of gravity of party work from day-to-day management to a problematic approach. Are we right in that assumption?

[Answer] In order to manage current affairs well, one has to go beyond the current affairs and the routine. There is no total escape from management, from intervening in various affairs, but we would rather avoid imposing our view and assume a more evaluative and conceptuary posture, providing, of course, the organizational framework for various conceptions and ideas. It is management which should concentrate mainly on current affairs, and, to tell the truth, it does so almost spontaneously. The duty of the party is to look further afield.

[Question] With the future in mind, we would like to ask you how things are among teachers. After all, this involves the education of young people, shaping the foundations of their socialist consciousness. How do you work with this group of the intelligentsia?

[Answer] We have arranged a series of meetings with senior high-school students. They, too, belong to the intelligentsia, they are the intelligentsia of the future. Such meetings were attended by five to six people from the provincial committee. They have talked with groups of 30-60 students. Those young people were astounded that somebody from the provincial committee came to visit them, that those were people well read, raised drastic problems, had something to say. This alone helps to break down the stereotype view of lightweight party people. Our intention, however, was to face squarely all questions posed by young people. It has been confirmed that their mentality was shaped primarily by emotions and by reading oppositional literature. At the same time the exceptionally valuable inquisitiveness of those young people, who ask about all the major problems of the country, of the world, and of history, has been confirmed as well.

Simultaneously, the weakness of the teaching staff was also revealed; after all, it was they who should have answered the young people's questions. The teachers, however, are underinformed, and therefore unable to confront many problems. Under the circumstances, we are continuing those meetings, and convening them all over the province. Teachers, on the other hand, need help. We are establishing a center for advanced training of the leading cadres, and I think room will be found there for teachers as well. But they, too, should realize that they themselves have to step up their political education.

The problem, however, is of a much broader scope. Some party members avoid schooling, do not even read papers. But people of limited knowledge can have no influence in their communities; in order to know more, one has to work on one's education. All our attempts have been targeted at finding more attractive forms of training. Acquiring knowledge, however, can be only partly attractive. Drab, strenuous work is also necessary. In our party we should therefore introduce the principle of regular recharging of our mental batteries. We have to overcome resistance rooted in the bad experience of the past.

This is not the place to discuss at length the accomplishments of our provincial party organization; they are now being summed up during the reports-elections campaign. In short: we have managed to expand the activity and to make it more aggressive, but we have not yet succeeded in permeating all our primary party organizations with the fighting spirit. Most primary organizations, however, have already gone beyond the extemporizing stage, and have entered the stage of planned activity. We are leaving behind us the sphere of slogans, we are starting to learn effective work, a precondition for implementing the slogans. The scope of party activity has been enlarged. We are getting organizationally effective. We are aware,

however, that we have a long way to go in order to reconstruct a fully effective party, both organizationally and intellectually. There will be a lot of work left for the coming terms.

[Interviewers] Thank you for the interview.

12485

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PZPR EDUCATOR CONDEMNS 'NEOCAPITALIST' DEVIATIONS

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 47, 20 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by Norbert Michta: "Realization of Social Justice"]

[Text] The idea of social justice is commonly linked with the main goal of socialism. This view is reasonable, but it has to be placed in the panorama of visions of the future formation of communist humanity.

The basic assumption and aspiration of the two-phase revolutionary rebuilding of economic and social relations on a worldwide scale (socialism--communism) is the abolition of man's exploitation of man and the establishment of the fraternal coexistence of all nations. This ideal toward which humanity strives, will lead to the abolition of class oppositions and the elimination of all exploitation, oppression, or privileges of an economic, political, national, religious, legal, etc, nature, and to the application of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" on the basis of high social awareness. This will be a long-term process, not for one generation, together with which the various functions of the state as the exponent of class policy will languish gradually as the material and spiritual sphere of humanity develops and flourishes.

At present, real socialist states find themselves at various stages in the socialism-building phase and, thus, on the road to attaining the lower phase of communism. During the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, the class struggle within particular countries does not wane but acquires a varying "specific character," following the removal of the local bourgeoisie and landowners from authority and the elimination of the economic foundation of the capitalist class. On the other hand, apart from the state sector in the economy of individual socialist countries, to varying degrees and in different areas based on their role, the cooperative sector and also the commercial and private sector continue to come into play in production and services. In Poland, unlike other socialist countries, a petty goods peasant economy is dominant in agriculture and, moreover, the share of petty and intermediate capital of so-called Polonia firms is marked in the sphere of production and services. In nearly all socialist states, but especially in Poland, a pluralist world view appears that is connected first and foremost with the religious beliefs and the Roman Catholicism of a clear majority of society. The building of socialism in all countries which have embarked on this structural road is occurring, moreover, under conditions of the worsening class struggle between

two systems, and one that became inflamed chiefly after the "superhawks," with President Reagan in command, came to power in the United States, representatives of militant imperialism, representing an aggressive anticommunist course in all fields--ideological, political, economic, military, scientific, cultural, etc.

In some states that are building socialism, the situation has come to the total socialization of the means of production in industry, agriculture, and the service sphere and to the application of a nearly hermetic system that makes it impossible to penetrate through bourgeois ideology, lifestyle, and foreign customs to the posture, morality and ethics of socialist society. As a result of defined conditions and present circumstances, the action of historical tradition, and also the errors committed by the party, the building of socialism in Poland has a more "open" character, which creates a number of difficulties and causes greater class differentiation of society than anywhere else, contradictions among the interests of classes, communities, and groups in the sphere of distribution of national income, wages and living costs, and also church/state tensions. The situation is complicated by the dependence, chiefly in the second half of the 1970's, of part of industrial production on deliveries of raw materials, other materials, and equipment from capitalist states, by the considerable indebtedness of Poland to the Western banks, and by economic restrictions, chiefly those imposed by the United States.

Twenty-five years ago, at the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee [KC] in October 1958, L. Wudski emphasized that "the idea marches forward and, cast into the world, evokes order or confusion in feelings and images--it marks out paths, and it convinces, strengthens, or weakens enthusiasm." This standard idea of socialism--let us recall the words of General W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the KC PZPR, uttered this spring at the National Worker Aktiv Conference--is the idea of social justice. The hopes, desires and expectations of all working people, and first and foremost of the working class and the peasants, are connected with the realization of this idea.

There is no justice which would satisfy everyone and reconcile the interests of capitalists and the proletariat, exploiters and exploited, conscientious workers and do-nothings and parasites, and honest and modest people versus swindlers and tricksters. "Social justice" as a concept, slogan, and line in state policy has a class character and constitutes the realization of the basic principle of socialism (the lower phase of communism)--"from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work."

Although the comprehension of "social justice" is manifold and covers a gradation of various values, it is most frequently understood to mean the evaluation of work and human behavior according to known criteria, objectively, without giving individuals, groups and classes special privileges or discriminating against them because of their political beliefs. Public opinion, first and foremost concerning the working class, is particularly sensitive when it comes to the realization of social justice in the policy of remunerating according to work quantity and quality, the distribution of national income among people employed in the socialized and private sectors, and the phenomena of getting rich illegally, taking state property, using one's position for personal gain, etc. For these reasons, state policy, chiefly in the economic field, on the

distribution of national income for individual and collective consumption, wages and social services, and fiscal policy, especially tax policy, should have a clear, class character, giving preference to satisfying the needs of the two basic productive forces in society--the working class and the peasants.

In his work "The State and Revolution," Lenin emphasized that the phase of transition from capitalism would be characterized by sharp forms of class struggle requiring the political domination of the working class (the dictatorship of the Proletariat) and centralized state authority "in order to strangle exploitative resistance as well as to guide the enormous masses of people, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, and the semiproletarians in setting up a socialist economy." The dictatorship of the working class will be especially indispensable in exercising control over production and division of labor, in the field of work records and the manufacture of goods, and "the organization and proper functioning of the first phase of communist society."

In the resolution adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, principles were formulated for long-range socioeconomic policy serving the realization of the standard idea of socialism--social justice. These principles consist of the following: 1) to recognize as the basic source of income only work, which is the right but at the same time the duty of every citizen; 2) to make the level of remuneration directly dependent on the results of work, its efficiency, and its quality; 3) to apply clear and just income rates: the lowest remuneration should be half of the average remuneration, and the highest remuneration should be 3.5 times as great as the average remuneration; 4) to insure that each working family achieves at least the social minimum; 5) to protect social and everyday living conditions for persons of retirement age, invalids, and not fully competent persons in the cities and the country; 6) to strive to insure that each family has separate housing; 7) to guarantee health care, medical, social and occupational rehabilitation, and suitable conditions for working and resting; and 8) to create conditions assuring an equal start in life for the young generation from all regions, professional environments, and social groups.

Realizing this long-range, valid, and ambitious policy has turned out in practice in the last 2 years to be a considerably more difficult task than had been assumed. The following circumstances have had a negative and delaying influence on this state of affairs: the destructive activity of counterrevolutionary and oppositional forces in the economic and political spheres and the sphere of social consciousness, which made it necessary to establish martial law; the policy of restrictions against Poland practiced by the United States and other Western states; difficulties in implementing economic reform as a consequence of the aforementioned reasons, and also conservative or liberal attitudes among part of the administrative cadre that distorted the meaning of economic reform and made its realization more difficult; the intensification of speculative phenomena in connection with difficulties in market supply, greed and acquisitiveness in the private sector, and also deformations in the activities of some Polonia firms. Altogether, these reasons, conditions and distortions increase the burdens borne by the working class and other worker groups in getting out of the crisis, for they lead to the preservation of inflation, unjustified price increases for goods and services, and extortion by speculators, tricksters and unbridled private dealers. Let us add to this

list calls from underground groups of the former Solidarity trade union to "work at a snail's pace" and for low productivity, infractions of production discipline, the granting of medical leave with a free hand, disregard or side-stepping of legal acts and orders of the authorities, and the posing of constantly new demands for guaranteed rights, with disregard of the citizen's obligations and duties toward the state. In essence, these are slogans calling for suicidal attitudes and actions, for they can lead to the significant undermining of party and governmental efforts to increase production, to supply the market better, and to counteract inflation.

The 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee indicated the link between ideology, politics and economics more than any previous plenum had done, and, in particular, the significance and the role of social policy in the implementation of the goals and aspirations of socialism and, therefore, in the realization of the idea of social justice. It is stated in the basic resolution that "concern for the social and material interests of working people is a fundamental duty of the party" and that "anything that violates the socialist principles of social justice should be eliminated decisively." Especially critical and angry voices were directed in the discussion toward persons and groups employed in the private and agency sectors who quickly enrich themselves not through honest work but by boosting prices for goods most often supplied from the network of state supply through bribable middlemen. Verification of licensing cards issued for the management of agency shops and cooperative workshops was called for, as well as the establishment in them of complete income records in order to apply an appropriate tax progression to counteract the excessive intensification of differences in personal income. The danger of cheating a neobourgeoisie class striving for symbiosis with representatives of state authority of various levels and links was pointed out; this has to lead to the demoralization and destruction of the class attitudes of these representatives. Disregard or tolerance of such dangerous phenomena as parasitism and idleness, taking public property, and the practice of speculation and trickery can lead to the division of the community into "workers and loafers," which is not compatible with socialist ideology and morality. Many debaters emphasized that although the scope of production, trade and service activity of the private sector and Polonia firms is limited, the greed and striving to exploit society by various means for the purpose of achieving maximum benefits which occur in this scope of activity have negative political, moral and psychological effects. For as General W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, noted at the 13th Plenum, such a practice has "a disheartening and demoralizing effect, harms the socialist feeling of justice, and generalizes foreign models of greed and of petit-bourgeois lifestyle with respect to class."

The party, government, state, working class and all people making a living from honest work have to erect an effective dam against this foreign wave which is trying to enter the socialist organism and plant the viruses of neocapitalism in it. Thus, the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee spells out that "deformations in the private sector require positive counter-action, especially deformations in this sector's contact with the socialized economy, including the achievement of high incomes unjustified by the outlay of labor, enrichment from speculation, and tax swindles."

Unfortunately, similar phenomena defying principles of social justice are multiplying greatly, and the struggle against them is frequently a partial struggle, ineffective, waged on a narrow front. Enforcing legal acts and orders of the authorities that serve to implement the social policy delineated in the resolution of the Ninth Congress is perfunctory and formal in many more cases, which leads to exasperation and disappointment among the working masses. Let us consider, if only for example, the implementation of a local law under which a family can occupy only one dwelling and can have one summer cottage. Inspection of residential premises was carried out to this end. In this manner it contributed to the procurement of an additional small number of lodgings for the most needy families, but of course it is a public secret how many families continue to have two or even more residences, and even several luxurious villas. Let us take another example connected with the so-called system of "contractual prices." Can one speak of contractual prices in cases of monopolization of certain kinds of production or services when we are dealing not with an agreement between parties but with bidding not only by workshop or private workshop but even a cooperative workshop? An enterprise under a cooperative signboard requires the payment of about 50,000 zlotys only for arranging ready-made elements of a tombstone of marble or terrazzo. "Private" workers at this cooperative execute this work in a group of two or three people for 40,000 zlotys within 2 to 3 days, earning between 5,000 and 10,000 zlotys daily. They do not incur any costs with this, since the customer is supposed to provide the expected tombstone materials using his own transportation. Gangs are operating in a network of agency gasoline stations that hoard capital by selling fuels outside the coupon system but at a considerably higher price. Here and there we find out about a recurrence of bribery in the allotment of tractors and agricultural machinery, in the acquisition of automobile coupons, in the purchase of attractive materials or implements, etc.

Especially irritating and shocking to all honest people, and the working class first and foremost, are the facts about the parasitic way of life of thousands of young people who avoid work and have no professional training, loafers and lazybones, various "crooks" mocking all commands and prohibitions and living off theft and speculation, currency trade, the swindling of naive persons, etc. In the social sense of justice, the most dangerous and incorrigible of them, criminals and recidivists, should be punished more severely than they have been to date, and others should be rehabilitated, first and foremost through work and professional job placement and by guiding them to public work and communal services. After all, recently there have been complaints of a lack of hands for work. Therefore, it is indicated legitimately in the resolution of the 13th Plenum that "in the struggle with these phenomena, it is necessary to use existing legal acts, increase the effectiveness of the prosecution and the work of state control organs, and broaden forms of social control with complete consistency."

In this latter task, I believe that the basic role should be fulfilled by the trade unions and worker's self-government, whose main task consists of defending the interests of all working people and conducting educational activity that will contribute to increasing labor productivity and production growth. Youth organizations also can make a significant contribution to effective social control. In the first years after the end of the war, famous youth "light

cavalry brigades" became a terror for public property thieves, embezzlers and speculators, and they sounded the alarm in cases of proven abuses, squandering of public funds, wastefulness, and enrichment at society's expense.

Perhaps it would also be necessary to return to Lenin's idea of popular control as developed in articles and first put into practice by S. Berson, a leader in the SDKPiL [Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and of Lithuania (before World War I)] in Russia, and subsequently commissar of the people's state control in the government of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1919. He emphasized that councils and their executive committees are not in a position at meetings to control the correctness of the activity of institutions and agencies, trade posts and cooperative workshops. In the sphere of supervising the process of product manufacture and distribution, and also financial operations, the struggle with opportunists and spoilers, who discredit popular authority in the eyes of the working population as they place personal goals in the foreground, is particularly important. Only direct control by broad circles of the population over the activities of organs managing product manufacture and distribution can avert errors and abuses, according to Berson. In this connection he recommended the introduction of Organs of Popular Control in the entire state, beginning with factories, cities, districts and provinces. These organs should be endowed with broad powers for the exercise of universal supervision over the correct course of production, the distribution of goods, and the counter-acting of attempts to appropriate public property made by individuals and groups aiming to "line their own pockets at the public's expense." They should have "the right to impose a categorical ban on any kind of operation which could prove harmful for the proletarian state and the working class on account of a lack of validity, purposefulness, thriftiness and concordance with popular financial, economic and social policy." According to the law of that time and the respective orders, the Branches of Popular Control consisted of 18 members each, two-thirds of whom constituted delegates selected by production unions, workers from factory and agricultural industries. The Branches of Popular Control were a completely independent institution, independent of other state agencies, directly representing the organs of control of the highest state authority, the CKW [Central Executive Committee] of the Councils of Delegates. In this manner they were entirely independent, not subordinated to other organs of council authority. They were supposed to be a weapon of the worker's dictatorship in the struggle to protect the direct interests of manufacturers in the sphere of industry and agriculture and to effectively prevent abuses and the phenomena of appropriation of public products through deceit, swindles and exploitation of positions.

8729

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URBAN'S PUBLICATION CHALLENGED

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 47, 20 Nov 83 p 8

[Review of book by Jerzy Urban entitled "Samosady" by Bogdan Kajzer]

[Text] Jerzy Urban's essays in his column "Samosady," which has been appearing in TU I TERAZ, were badly received. The main charge against them concerned the provocative content and style which bordered on arrogance and tactlessness. Some of his peculiar expressions caused an uproar and a scandal; remember that the matter was put before the Sejm. Afterwards, Urban announced that he faced great harassment, and that he had been forced to stop writing the column because, he lamented, of lack of democracy.

It was probably in order to compensate the gloomy wrongs he suffered that in an astonishingly short time a book edition of "Samosady" appeared in the stores. Today, when the first emotional reactions are luckily behind us, it is perhaps worthwhile to return once again to this journalism, and to pose the question of whether, restraining one's irritation, there are possible benefits to be had from reading "Samosady."

The reasons for this are more or less as follows. First, Urban is a journalist, but one who holds a public office. It would therefore be interesting to examine the mentality of a person charged with serious responsibilities which allow him a wider than usual field of observation. And no matter how much Urban claims that his journalism expresses his personal views, he nevertheless remains the same Urban, i.e., a minister. A change of the role does not signify a change of mentality (at most, it blocks certain reflexes in official, public appearances). Second, Urban is a journalist who blazes his own paths of thought; at least that is what others think about him. Therefore, as in any similar case, it would be worthwhile to see what he has to offer today, and also whether his reflections make a useful contribution to the shaping of our present self-knowledge.

A repeat, summary reading of "Samosady" makes one understand why these essays caused constant irritation. Urban went against the grain of public opinion. He has always proclaimed his disagreement with commonly held beliefs, preferences, and sympathies. He adopted a role of a destroyer who does not shun derision and mockery, and is predisposed to humiliate and render absurd the opinions of others. The list of constructive proposals that Urban is able to suggest is surprisingly meager.

Nevertheless, read without prejudice, the book provides some benefits. It stimulates a verification of one's own views about various current issues. The effect of such a procedure may vary--it is most often contrary to the author's intent--but some movement of thought does take place. This is inevitable since Urban threshes out topics that fascinate the public, e.g., the accounting of responsibility, the national accord, ferment in professional milieus (among actors and journalists), and so on. Everyone has some kind of opinion on these subjects so that reading the book becomes a confrontation of points of view.

One must state that the effectiveness of the crusade led under the label of "Samosady" has been limited. The reason for this lies in an attitude which, for my own use, I would call "propagandistic realism." Urban, who represents this attitude, gives it full expression in his essays. He describes himself as a sober realist, and operates as follows: he considers some, but not all facts, asserts that he relies on true facts (as he indeed does, but not all!), and then goes on to make far-reaching generalizations, extrapolating fragments into a whole picture. The conclusions thus drawn are preconceived, and he recommends that they be accepted as true because they followed from facts.

As can be seen, "propagandistic realism" is a slogan rather than a method: the word "realism" is but a label, and not a recipe for the preparation of contents.

An illustrative reflection of such journalistic tricks is already given in the beginning of "Samosady." Urban valiantly bites the bullet and puts forward his own, rather peculiar idea about the problem of accountability of prominent persons, which is opposed to the widely accepted views.

He advocates an opinion that all of us are responsible for the economic catastrophe under Gierek because the "mistaken economic policies were adopted under social pressure." That pressure, he specifies, was expressed in the drive for the increase of consumption, e.g., of meat, and in the articulation of needs for the purchase of products such as those in highly developed countries.

Similar ideas explaining Gierek's economic catastrophe may be proposed only on the assumption that collective amnesia seized the nation, and that nobody remembers what the political situation was really like in the 1970's.

I do not think it is necessary to justify the erroneous nature of the claim that society is responsible for the way in which articulated social needs are being satisfied. For this thesis refers only to the existences of such needs, ignoring the existence of government which puts in motion certain economic mechanisms (and not others) that are supposed to satisfy social aspirations. Clearly, Urban thinks that there are societies which have no needs or aspirations, and which do not exert pressure on their governments. One can think this way, but then one should not be a minister.

When Urban tries this novel way of assigning shares of responsibility for the economic crisis, he simplifies the matter by dealing with it in a narrowly conceived economic dimension. He does not take into account the fact that it

was possible for the economy to function badly for years, exposing us to astronomical losses, because the mechanism of social criticism did not function at all. The responsibility of Gierek's team does not lie in forcing a certain model of development instead of another. Politicians are responsible for everything: for what they put in motion and for what they stopped (while nobody asked them to do so, quite the opposite). Therefore the crisis that weighs down Gierek's record is not just economic. The downfall of the economy was only the inevitable consequence of a situation in which the imbalance of political life had been pushed to the extreme. So, if anyone is responsible for the contortions of agricultural policy in the 1970's, or for the wasting of enormous amounts of money that were so lightly borrowed, it is not all of us, because we had then no influence whatsoever on governmental or ministerial decisions.

Urban forgets, or consciously slides over, the climate of that unnatural, debateless approval which had not, by any means, been built through a spontaneous effort from below. Urban the realist overlooked the fact that it was not the society which was responsible for the absurd growth of censorship. We could fall for so long into the abyss, into the atmosphere of general but artificial approval, because the mechanism of social correction of authorities' decisions, on various levels, was completely rigid, and criticism was being silenced by prohibitions.

In this way Urban, a eulogist of sober realism, goes astray amid half-truths and concealment.

I mentioned the issue of accountability on purpose, because this topic is still a burning one for the society. I think that if, for a variety of reasons, legal or otherwise, it is not possible to conduct a full and honest accounting of responsibility for the decline of the 1970's (the crisis of the state had its roots in that period, rather than only after August 1980), then it is better to announce this straight out instead of attempting to feign a discussion that leads nowhere.

Is there no line, then, in this book, that says something new and important? Or maybe there is a piece of truth with which one could agree without reservations?

Well, yes, the pages of the book contain scattered claims which one could accept as stimuli for new thoughts, and also statements which, one must concede, are correct and do not concern marginal issues.

First of all, I think that the statement about "twaddling a few all-purpose terms which substituted for political analysis, political thinking, and political choice" before 13 December is important. These all-purpose terms were "accord," "compromise," "trustworthiness." Although Urban refers to journalists, his remark can be usefully generalized and addressed to every one of us. It seems that the proverbial average Pole is not a homo politicus. In consequence, we as a society too easily succumb to various believers in "inspirational" politics which is supposed to move mountains but which in the end disintegrates on the very first sharp turn of the road. Either we let

ourselves be greatly elated, or we turn to a directionless half-shade of bourgeois reason permeated with fear--but we don't know how to find a more permanent place between these two extremes. I also think it would be useful to think through thoroughly another truth in "Samosady," perhaps not so original, but a clearly brutal one, that "the course of events depreciated illusions and political insincerity." Irrespective of everything else, remembering this statement should sober us up when, in private discussions, we let our emotions show. Such emotions will not substitute for cool analysis of what has happened. And no one will undertake such an analysis for us.

The foregoing exhausts the list of common points between the views of Urban, the journalist-minister, and mine.

The author of "Samosady" regrets that "everything is being looked upon separately," that the "standard of political culture" is being lowered. Whereupon Urban, calling for "a debate about fundamental decisions," is perfectly capable of ridiculing "individual, non-party deputies who awkwardly attempt to play their own game in the Sejm." In the same place, on the pages of the very same magazine, in the same column. This game, he explains, consists "in building the third way (neither with the authorities, nor with the opposition), which is simultaneously full of venom and vaseline."

Let us pass over this stylistic packaging, originating from the yellow press, in which Urban enclosed his thought. In the heart of the matter, Urban treats all spontaneous parliamentary initiative as a game, played for no clear reason, as well as "awkward," and therefore lacking any purpose. Urban treats political life in the scheme of "all or nothing," not understanding that one can support, for example, the government's decision in case X, and at the same time doubt the correctness or effectiveness of a decision concerning Y.

I think that Urban, lamenting about "the standard of political culture existing in Poland," should begin the reforms with himself, namely, by asking himself the question of whether the set of concepts he uses in his own political thinking is perhaps too meager and somewhat stale. For it seems that on the sterile ground of nondebatable approval, political culture will not develop fruitfully. Besides the right to support, there exists, especially in the Sejm, a right to criticize and to search for alternatives.

In keeping with his peculiar logic, although not quite correctly, Urban classifies as oppositionists all those who may wish to express their agreement with some future decision of the authorities. In his view, the intellectuals are especially susceptible to opposition attitudes conceived in this manner. He foresees that they will manifest them for petty, particularistic reasons.

Of course, not all the truths presented in "Samosady" contain such potential contradiction. There are also some which he takes as unquestionable, and simply instructs us to believe in them. For example, deliberating over the abuse of the label of political "centrum" by the representatives of various political positions, Urban sums up his reflections thus: "I do not wish to say that there is no real political center in Poland. It does exist, it even governs, carefully maintaining balance." Point. Period. End of column. Why

precisely there, and not anywhere else, does Urban see the center? This he neglects to explain. No arguments for, or against. We are supposed to believe in what he said as in a revelation.

A reader would like to take a stand for something, but Urban gives him no chance. Yes, he says, the present policy "is moderate and consists of introducing reforms"--and that is all he has to say on this key issue. In what direction will those reforms actually go? What is the mark of moderation, and is it optimal? Perhaps it merely covers half-way measures and indecision? Perhaps one should let go a bit more, or, on the contrary, slow down? And what is the final supposed effect of such a policy, what is its purpose? These and other questions fill one's head when reading this kind of declaration about "moderation" and "reforms," but Urban, who does use such inflated and official slogans, fails to provide even a basis for guessing. He uses generalities with which everyone could agree, and which have been heard for a long time. But, meanwhile, we have a new, atypical situation, and we would like to know something--how various solutions will sort themselves out.

In this matter, the author of "Samosady" doles out the information sparingly, having perhaps decided that such stinginess may be justified by the multitude of his official appearances. Unfortunately, it would be good if he realized this.

In the end it must be said that "Samosady" is the fruit of destructive intellectual work, oriented toward verification and revision. Numerous phenomena were subjected to this processing--not surprisingly, considering the quickened pulse of life during the times when these essays were written. Reading them, we have an illusion of searching into the farthest nooks of the political spectrum. Poland, foreign countries, the Sejm, the underground--there is no region that failed to catch Urban's attention. However, one quickly notices that out of the varied range of events, Urban chose those easiest to deride and ridicule by one-sided exposition, instead of looking at them from a variety of perspectives. Using the sole and only criterion of immediate effectiveness, Urban mocks all awkward actions, demonstrations of attitudes, and gestures which do not change, from day to day, the existing balance of power. And since he does not lack material, he is enjoying himself enormously throughout almost 200 pages, without making any effort to think deeper. Thus, generally speaking, the book presents a monotonous example of one-sided, myopic political gibe. It does not broaden one's perspective, it rarely moves the imagination, not to mention helping to understand the situation in which we have found ourselves.

There is only one gain from this reading, but a fundamental one: when we feel the need for serious, deeper journalism that deals with broadly defined topics, we shall know that it is not Urban who is able to satisfy it. And this in spite of the fact that he placed himself in probably the most advantageous observation point, in a place which provides access to a lot of information.

AMENDED LAW ON UNIVERSAL DEFENSE OBLIGATION PUBLISHED

Text of Amendment

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 61, 22 Nov 83 pp 805-808

[Text of law dated 21 November 1983 amending the law on the universal defense obligation in the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] Art. 1. The following changes are made to the law dated 21 November 1967 on the universal defense obligation in the Polish People's Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111, and 1983, No 41, item 185):

1) Art 5 will read as follows:

"Art 5.1. A National Defense Committee, competent in matters pertaining to the defense and security of the State, is set up.

2. It will be the task of the National Defense Committee, specifically, to:

- 1) determine the general assumptions of the defense of the Polish People's Republic,
- 2) look into the main problems pertaining to the State's defense and security and outline the courses of action in this field in connection with the overall socioeconomic development of the country, and the implementation of other State tasks,
- 3) propose motions on declaration of a state of emergency, martial law, announcement of mobilization, and make decisions on a state of war,
- 4) function as an administrator on matters of the State's defense and security during a state of emergency and martial law, as specified in separate legal regulations.
- 5) determine the organizational assumptions of the Armed Forces, civil defense, and militarized units,

- 6) assign tasks relating to improvement of the State's defense readiness and supervise their execution,
- 7) coordinate the activities of the chief, central and local organs of the State administration and national economy pertaining to the defense of the State,
- 8) evaluate and supervise and control the performance of tasks pertaining to the defense of the State by the organizational organs and units required to perform these tasks,
- 9) execute other tasks relating to the defense and security of the State."

2) After art 5, art 5a is added, to read as follows:

"Art 5a. The tasks mentioned in art 5 par 2 pts 1, 2 and 5-9, will be executed in accordance with the decisions made by the Council of Ministers as part of the exercise of overall leadership in the country's defense and the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic."

3) Arts 6-8 will read as follows:

"Art 6.1. The National Defense Committee is a collegial organ.

2. The National Defense Committee is composed of a chairman, deputy chairmen, members, and a secretary.
3. The National Defense Committee, as part of its activities, passes resolutions and issues guidelines and instructions.

Art 7.1. The chairman of the National Defense Committee is appointed and removed by the Sejm.

2. The chairman of the National Defense Committee:

- 1) directs the work of the Committee,
- 2) issues orders on matters relating to the Committee's activities.

Art 8.1. The deputy chairman of the National Defense Committee for Armed Forces affairs and strategic-defense planning is the Minister of National Defense. The remaining deputy chairmen are appointed by the Council of State.

2. The Council of State, in coordination with the Council of Ministers, defines:

- 1) the principles and procedures by which the National Defense Committee functions and also the principles and procedures for appointing its executive organs and their scope of activity,
- 2) the principles and procedures for appointing and removing the members and secretary of the National Defense Committee and its presidium, and also the tasks and powers of the persons who make up this Committee."

4) After art 8, art 8a is added, to read as follows:

"Art 8a. 1. The supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic is the chairman of the National Defense Committee.

2. The chairman of the National Defense Committee, as supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, in particular:

- 1) at the request of the Minister of National Defense, defines the main directions of the development of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic and their preparation for the defense of the State,
- 2) expresses an opinion on the candidate proposed for the position of Minister of National Defense,
- 3) at the request of the Minister of National Defense, appoints and dismisses the Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army and the commanders of the military districts and branches of the Armed Forces."

5) After art 9, par 1 and 3 are deleted, and the designation for par 2.

6) After art 11, art 11a is added, to read as follows:

"Art 11a. The Council of State appoints the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic for the period of war."

7) Art 13 will read as follows:

"Art 13.1. The chief and central organs of state administration and the governors will execute tasks relating to the State's defense, ensuing from laws and from the executive acts of the competent organs, issued on the basis of these laws..

2. All organs of state administration, heads of organizational units under them and supervised by them, and legal persons, must execute tasks relating to the defense of the State, as specified by laws and the executive acts of the competent organs, issued on the basis of these laws.

3. In passing resolutions, the organs of territorial self-government are required to include the implementation of matters on the State's defense.
4. State enterprises and their associations are required to execute tasks relating to the defense of the State, specified in accordance with laws and the executive acts issued on the basis of these laws. In enterprises, the managing directors are responsible for the implementation of these tasks, and in associations, the directors of the associations. In passing resolutions, the organs of the workforce self-management are required to include implementation of matters pertaining to the defense of the State in the resolutions.
5. The execution of tasks relating to the defense of the State as specified by laws and the executive acts of competent organs, issued on the basis of these laws, is also the duty of the cooperative boards and their unions and social organizations and trade unions, within the limits of their jurisdiction."

8) After art 13, art 13a is added, to read as follows:

"Art 13a. The organs of administration and heads of organizations described in art 13 will, during their execution of tasks relating to defense, give consideration to the postulates concerning the needs of the Armed Forces, transmitted by the Minister of National Defense or the military organs authorized by him to do so, and the postulates concerning the needs of civil defense, transmitted by the Chief of Civil Defense or the local civil defense organs."

9) Art 14 will read as follows:

"Art 14.1. Defense matters in the provinces are under the jurisdiction of the provincial defense committees.

2. The provincial defense committees in charge of defense matters in the provinces will examine defense needs in relation to the overall socioeconomic development of the province and other State tasks.
3. The provincial defense committees function within the limits of the authority granted to them, in accordance with the decisions of the National Defense Committee.
4. The Council of Ministers or the National Defense Committee may determine that the execution of specified tasks pertaining to the defense of the State by the organs and organizations mentioned in art 13 par 2, 4 and 5, occurs according to the principles and procedures specified by the provincial defense committees, and pertaining to civil defense--by the civil defense chiefs, under the direct leadership and supervision of these organs.

5. The governors are chairmen of the provincial defense committees.
6. The National Defense Committee defines the composition, scope, principles and procedures for the provincial defense committees and the scope of activity of the executive organs of these committees.
7. The chairman of the provincial people's council and other persons take part in the meetings of the provincial defense committee, according to the principles specified by the National Defense Committee."

10) In art 23, par 5 is deleted.

11) After art 60, art 60a is added, to read as follows:

"Art 60a.1. The performance by conscripts of service in armed formations which are not part of the Armed Forces, is equivalent to the fulfillment of the obligation of regular military service.

2. The National Defense Committee defines:

- 1) the armed formation in which service is equivalent to the fulfillment of the obligation of regular military service,
- 2) the principles of assigning and calling to service in armed formations, and also the course of this service where not covered by separate regulations.

3. Conscripts performing service in armed formations and members of their families, irrespective of rights specified for these persons in regulations governing this service, are entitled to specific rights provided in the foregoing law and in the regulations issued on the basis of this law for soldiers in the regular service and their families, as specified by the Council of Ministers."

12) In art 93:

a) in par 2 the word "governor" is replaced by the words "local organ of the state administration of provincial rank" and a second sentence is added, to read as follows: "The decision of this organ is final."

b) after par 2, pars 2a and 2b are added, to read as follows:

"2a. The Minister of Internal Affairs may, in the review process, abrogate the final decision of the local organ of state administration, issued in violation of legal regulations.

2b. The local organ of state administration, whose decision was abrogated, investigates the case again and issues a new decision."

13) In art 125 par 3 a second sentence is added, to read as follows:

"The decision of the local organ of state administration in these matters can be appealed to the local organ of state administration of provincial rank, whose decision is final."

14) In art 140 par 4 will read as follows:

"4. The period of replacement duty by conscripts is equivalent to a period of employment within the meaning of regulations governing retirement benefits for workers and their families."

15) In art 150 par 1 pt 2, after the words "referred to in art 146 par 3", the following words are added: "and to the position of commandant of the formation, the workplace manager or the local organ of state administration."

16) Art 169 will read as follows:

"Art 169.1. A person performing civil defense duty who is injured in a service-connected accident, and in the case of the death of this person, a family member--is entitled, subject to the provisions of pars 4-6, to benefits according to the rules and procedures provided in regulations governing workers' on-the-job accidents and occupational diseases. The procedure to establish the circumstances and cause of the accident is conducted and the damages are paid by the workplace, the organ of state administration, or other organ to whom the civil defense formation reports, or the organization unit referred to in art 146 par 3.

2. The provisions of par 1 apply to accidents enroute to place of duty, except that the entitlement to benefits is determined and benefits are paid by the Social Security Administration.

3. The decision of the workplace or organ mentioned in pars 1 and 2 may be appealed according to the rules and procedures provided in regulations governing workers' on-the-job accidents and occupational diseases.

4. A member of a youth labor battalion performing regular duty in a civil defense detachment, who is injured in line of duty, and in the case of his death, a family member, is entitled to damage and pension benefits, and death benefits, as provided in separate regulations covering soldiers performing regular military duty.

5. The Council of Ministers, through an executive order, defines:

1) the jurisdiction of organs and the procedures to determine:

a) the circumstances and cause of the accident which befell the member of the youth labor battalion,

b) the connection of the member's illness with the specific peculiarities or conditions of regular civil defense service.

- 2) the jurisdiction of organs to adjudicate injuries to the member of the youth labor battalion and to award and pay the damages referred to in par 4.
 6. The person involved may appeal the decision of the organ having jurisdiction on the damages referred to in par 4 to the district labor and social insurance court within the time limit specified in regulations governing proceedings before those courts.
 7. The period of regular civil defense service is equivalent to a period of employment within the meaning of regulations governing retirement benefits for workers and their families."
- 17) In art 184, par 6 is added, to read as follows:
- "6. The provisions of art 134 par 2 apply to persons referred to in par 4.
- 18) In art 186, par 3 is added, to read as follows:
- "3. Persons performing service in a militarized unit are required to execute the orders of their superiors, issued in service matters, and to execute the tasks assigned to militarized units."
- 19) After art 195, art 195a is added, to read as follows:
- "Art 195a. Persons with organization-mobilization assignments to units subject to militarization and persons serving in militarized units are required to maintain secrecy on all matters about which they obtained information directly or in connection with this service, if these matters are classified secret or if maintaining them in secrecy is required by defense considerations. The provisions of art 67 par 2 apply."
- 20) After art 196, art 196a is added, to read as follows:
- "Art 196a. Militarized units may be assigned in whole or in part to other ministers or provincial civil defense chiefs, in accordance with principles laid down by the National Defense Committee."
- 21) Art 198 will read as follows:
- "Art 198.1. On matters not covered by law, persons serving in militarized units are subject to the following regulations:
- 1) labor regulations, or
 - 2) special regulations, if they cover the service status of these persons
--within the scope and principles and procedures specified by the Council of Ministers in an executive order.
2. The Council of Ministers may award persons serving in militarized units and members of their families special entitlements

and reduced rates and defines the rules and conditions for benefiting from these entitlements and reduced rates."

22) Art 215 will read as follows:

"Art 215.1. The ministers and governors may be required to perform specified organization-mobilization tasks for the Armed Forces, with the participation of organizational units which are subordinate to them or are supervised by them, as well as enterprises and state-enterprise associations.

2. The tasks referred to in par 1 may also be imposed on cooperative boards and cooperative unions."

23) In art 218 par 1 pt 3 and in par 2 pt, the words "civil defense service" are replaced by the words: "conscript training or civil defense drills."

24) In art 222 par 1 the words: "or call-up card" are deleted.

25) In art 223:

a) After par 1, par 1a is added, to read as follows:

"1a. Anyone who commits the act specified in par 1, who is assigned to regular civil defense service, or to that person, is subject to the same punishment."

1b. In par 2, the words: "or civil defense service" are replaced by the words "conscript training or civil defense drills or."

26) In art 224:

a) In par 1, after the words: "active military service," the words: "or assigned to regular civil defense service" are added.

b) In par 4, after the word "military," the words "or in art 161" are added.

27) In art 226, the words "civil defense service" are replaced by the words: "conscript training or civil defense drills."

28) In art 227:

a) The text as it now reads is designated as par 1.

b) Par 2 is added, to read as follows:

"2. Anyone who wilfully fails to execute, or impedes the execution, of tasks referred to in arts 214-216, is subject to the same punishment."

29) After art 234, art 234a is added, to read as follows:

"Art 234a.1. Persons performing regular civil defense service are penally liable for crimes committed during the time of this service according to regulations governing soldiers in active military service."

2. The cases dealing with the crimes specified in par 1 fall under the jurisdiction of the military courts."

30) In art 237:

a) The text as it now reads is designated as par 1.

b) Par 2 is added, to read as follows:

"2. During the time that a state of emergency is in effect, war-time regulations apply to service obligations in militarized units and to service in behalf of defense, unless the organ declaring the state of emergency decrees otherwise."

Art 2.1. Cases dealing with crimes committed by persons performing regular civil defense service, which on the day the law went into effect ceased to fall under the jurisdiction of the general courts, continue until the time they have been validly completed before these courts.

2. The provisions of par 1 also apply to preliminary proceedings.

Art 3. The Minister of National Defense will publish a proclamation containing the complete text of the 21 November 1967 law on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic with the changes ensuing from the foregoing law and the regulations published before the date that the complete text is issued, maintaining sequential numbering of sections, chapters, articles, paragraphs, points and letters.

Art 4. The law goes into effect on the date of publication.

/s/ H. Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State
/s/ J. Szymanek, Secretary of the Council of State

Explanation of Amendment

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Tadeusz Malicki: "After the Sejm's Decisions"]

[Text] On 21 November of this year the Sejm passed a law changing some of the provisions of the 1967 law on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic. The changes made in this law bring in important, new elements which have an influence on improving the organization and functioning of the defense system of our State. This is the result primarily of the fact that a new National Defense Committee has been established and that the scope of its tasks has been expanded, and also of the fact the matters relating to the supreme command of Poland's Armed forces

have been regulated and that a new principle has been established for the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic for a period of war.

Insofar as improving the organization and functioning of the State's defense system is concerned, changes were made in the provisions relating to the provincial defense committees and the duties of the organs of administration and national economy in the execution of tasks pertaining to the State's defenses.

The changes made also regard the performance of service by conscripts in armed formations which are not part of the armed forces, as well as certain aspects of the service of members of youth labor battalions in civil defense detachments, drills in units designated for militarization, and service in militarized units, as equivalent to the fulfillment of the obligation of regular military service.

The National Defense Committee

The new wording of art 5 of the law on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic states that a National Defense Committee is being established which has jurisdiction on matters concerning the defense and security of the State. Therefore, on the day the law went into effect, this Committee has taken a new place. The National Defense Committee, which in the past has been a Council of Ministers committee on defense, acting under the chairmanship of the Council of Ministers, has become an independent body functioning under the chairmanship of the person appointed by the Sejm. Under this new situation, the Committee has become a specialized body, acting within the system of the chief organs of authority and the state administration, without violating the powers specified for these organs by the constitution of the Polish People's Republic and specific laws. Situating the committee thus also determined the expansion of the scope of its activities, as was revealed in the general statement that it has jurisdiction in matters pertaining to the defense and security of the State. The term "State security" is understood in its broadest meaning, and not just in the aspect of the protection of public law and order and tranquility.

Currently the National Defense Committee is authorized specifically to:

- 1) Establish the general assumptions of the defense of the Polish People's Republic;
- 2) investigate the main problems pertaining to the State's defense and security and outline the courses of action in this field in connection with the overall socioeconomic development of the country and the implementation of other State tasks;
- 3) propose motions on declaration of the state of emergency, martial law, announcement of mobilization, and make decisions on a state of war.
- 4) function as an administrator on matters of the State's defense and security during a state of emergency and martial law, as specified in separate legal regulations;

- 5) determine the organizational assumptions of the Armed Forces, civil defense, and militarized units;
- 6) assign tasks relating to improvement of the State's defense readiness and supervise their execution;
- 7) coordinate the activities of the chief, central and local organs of the State administration and national economy on matters relating to the defense of the State;
- 8) evaluate, supervise and control the performance of tasks pertaining to the defense of the State by the organizational organs and units required to perform these tasks;
- 9) execute other tasks relating to the defense and security of the State.

The Personnel Composition of the National Defense Committee

The personnel composition of the National Defense Committee was established taking into account the above range of tasks. The work of the Committee, which is a collegial body, will be directed by a chairman appointed by the Sejm. The National Defense Committee is made up of deputy chairmen, members, and a secretary. One of the deputy chairmen, for armed forces affairs and strategic-defense planning, is the Minister of National Defense, and the remaining deputy chairmen are appointed personally by the Council of State. The Committee members and secretary are appointed according to the principles contained in a resolution passed by the Council of State.

Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic

In the law being discussed a new provision was introduced (art 8a) stating that the chairman of the National Defense Committee is the supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic. The chairman of the Committee, as the supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, has been given the following specific authorities:

- 1) To define, at the request of the Minister of National Defense, the main directions of the development of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic and their preparation for the defense of the State;
- 2) to express an opinion on the candidate proposed for the position of Minister of National Defense;
- 3) to appoint and dismiss, at the request of the Minister of National Defense, the Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army and the commanders of the military districts and branches of the Armed Forces.

The establishing of the institution of supreme command over the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic goes back to Polish national traditions. The importance of this institution ensues from the very idea of "supreme command," which is expressed in detail in many other documents, including military rules and regulations.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic During Wartime

The law also contains a provision stating that the Council of State appoints the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces for a period of war. It appears from this that a person can be appointed at any time to perform this function, i.e., during peacetime, on the assumption that he will begin to perform this function only at the time that war breaks out. The role and tasks of the commander-in-chief evolve from the job description itself, and in the military sense, relate to the principles of command.

The Provincial Defense Committees

The provincial defense committees, established by law in 1967, act as specialized local organs to direct defense matters in the provinces. The changes introduced by the aforementioned law determine that these committees, in directing defense matters, examine the defense needs in relation to the overall socioeconomic development of the province and other state tasks.

It was declared also that the Council of Ministers or the National Defense Committee may assign the execution of tasks relating to the defense of the state to established organs and organizational units in the province in accordance with the procedures and principles outlined by the provincial defense committees, and, as relates to civil defense, to the civil defense chiefs--under the direct leadership and supervision of the provincial defense committees or civil defense chiefs.

The National Defense Committee will (in the immediate future) determine the details of the composition, scope and principles and procedures governing the activities of the provincial defense committees, and also the principles, procedures and scope of activities of the executive organs (work apparatus) of these committees.

The Duties of the Organs of Administration and National Economy Pertaining to the Defense of the State

In accordance with the principles outlined in art 8 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, all organs of authority and state administration function on the basis of the law. Taking this principle into consideration, the provisions of the aforementioned law established the duties of the organs of administration and national economy insofar as execution of tasks pertaining to the defense of the state is concerned.

The amended provision of art 13 of the law states that the chief and central organs of the state administration (i.e., the ministers and heads of offices and central institutions) and the governors (equivalent) are required to organize the execution of tasks pertaining to the defense of the state. In referring to the organizing of the execution of the tasks cited, the legislature means organizational functions in relation to the organizational units which report to these organs, or in relation to such units which in any form whatsoever are supervised by these organs.

Taking the above into account, the law unequivocally states that the execution of tasks pertaining to defense is required of all organs of state administration and heads of organizational units subordinate to them or supervised by them, and of legal persons (e.g., partnerships, etc.), and also of state enterprises and their associations, cooperative boards and their unions, and moreover, of the boards of social organizations and trade unions, within the limits of their jurisdiction.

It appears from the text of the law that the tasks pertaining to defense as set forth by the legal regulations, are directive and must be executed in accordance with the principles and procedures established by competent organs, with the chief and central organs of state administration, and governors (equivalent), performing the organizing role. The above determinations fill a legal gap and put to rest the doubts that have existed thus far as to the duties of certain organs on matters pertaining to the execution of defense tasks, and particularly the state enterprises in view of their great independence.

The above-mentioned changes in the law will make for improvements in the state's defense system, and it is urgent that they be applied in all military organs which have jurisdiction over these matters.

In conclusion, we wish to report that the law passed by the Sejm changing the 21 November 1967 law on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic was published in DZIENNIK USTAW, No 61, dated 22 November 1983, under item 278.

9295

CSO: 2600/477

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Seventh Week of Reports-Elections Campaign

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 23 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Krzysztof Cielenkiewicz; material between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In accordance with a resolution of the 13th PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum, another element was added to the seventh week of the party reports-elections campaign: the plant and gmina [parish] reports-elections conferences opened. Over a dozen of these begin this week; during the coming weeks, as many as two or three will take place daily. The subject matter discussed during the reports-elections meetings that have taken place thus far in groups and in district party organizations [OOP] and primary party organizations [POP] will also be echoed from these platforms in the discussion of the programs that have been created and the resolutions that have been passed.

Let us, then, pause to look at them, as the reports-elections campaign at the gmina and workplace levels is just beginning and the campaign still continues in primary party elements, having passed the halfway mark in the Krakow Voivodship several days ago. Today, as I write these words, it is no doubt much further along.

Now let us compare some percentages, including the data from 17 November 1983. The campaign in the primary elements--to look at the various subbranches--is the furthest along in the party organizations of trade and services units, where 74.5 percent of the OOP's and POP's have already held their meetings. In rural areas, 72 percent of the organizations have already held their meetings and in construction, e.g., this figure is 61.7 percent, while it is set at 55.2 percent in industry and 48.4 percent in education, science and culture.

So much for the statistics--now to the meetings themselves. /The attention of party members is still focused upon intraparty issues. However, subjects concerning party work in the economic and social sphere also continue to be discussed. It is worth stressing that the meetings are prepared carefully in terms of organization and substance, attendance remains high and the atmosphere is dignified, even ceremonial, a quality that emanates from the satisfaction that we have survived a difficult period during the past term./ Party members stress that the party has passed a difficult test during the

past few years, although they admit that the process of strengthening the PZPR is not finished. That is why the issue of party discipline and the purity of PZPR ranks is important for most of the meetings.

The satisfaction that derives from the assessment of the road we have traveled is not self-satisfaction. I would even say that the effect is the opposite one: namely, the meetings in general evaluate the implementation of resolutions from the preceding campaign very honestly and the reports give criticisms and focus on an analysis of the situation among party ranks, on assessing discipline, on the problems of the union movement and the workers' self-government and, finally, on cooperation with youth organizations.

/Another key issue that is discussed and acted upon in the form of specific recommendations is that of authority and strengthening the significance of the party in the community. Party members in the workplace and in rural areas would like the recommendations made to the state and economic administration to be implemented. And if this is impossible, they must at least receive a reply listing the reasons why this is so. Too many directors, chairmen and managers forget this obligation.../

The OOP's and POP's demand the full participation of their executive boards in the implementation of cadre policy. This was discussed primarily at the plants of the Nowa Huta city quarter. Issues of the managerial cadre in the context of assessing attitudes is another topic of the meetings. And it must be said that here numerous warnings are expressed, especially to middle management, for its passivity and lack of political commitment on such issues as trade union development. At the HiL [Lenin Works], recommendations were made regarding raising the level of party training and it was proposed that the middle technological supervisory level be included in this as well.

Problems linked with the party-administration relationship in the plant also occupy an important role; production and social/daily living issues are also treated in this context. For example, at the District Automobile Shops it was pointed out that there was to be a reduction in the administration in Poland, but in the opinion of their workforces, it is being expanded instead. PZPR members at the Nowa Huta Branch PSS [General Consumers' Cooperative] considered what should be done to make the party organization a real partner of the administration and how to ensure the influence of POP's upon the decisions that are made on issues of the operation and organization of trade.

Many meetings are accompanied by a current of criticism of work organization, of tolerating the excesses of those in the administration and of the incompetence and procrastination of management. There is also criticism of social/daily living issues, beginning with the claims made at HiL, at which the present health services base does not meet needs, to the offering of more drastic examples: the working conditions at a building site in Kurdwanow are dangerous. This was discussed at a POP meeting of the Krakow Construction Enterprise. Much is also said of working conditions, wages and employment problems. At HiL the unclear wage system, according to which emoluments are made up of too many elements, was criticized. It was determined that there are too few concrete actions and those present were in favor of raising the

status and prestige of the metallurgist's profession. Recommendations are also being made about the urgent need to modernize the HiL.

/An element of the discussion at nearly every meeting is the continuing stern demand for the authorities to react decisively to all of the negative phenomena that make up the concept of social pathology. And the workers add disorder, waste and uneconomical management to this list./

In looking for the element that ties together the dozen or so opinions, recommendations or assessments I have described that are drawn from OOP and POP meetings, without attempting to summarize them, I believe that /this current of the discussions persuades us of the need for actions building the party's authority and enabling the development of the plant, the village and the country./

/We need activities that increase the party's numbers. In recent years we have heard a great deal about those that have left the party. Thus, at the beginning of this reports-elections campaign we should be aware that young people are beginning to come to the party. They are receiving PZPR candidate-membership cards./

It is also a fact, however, that they are not joining en masse. Nor are they dribbling in, however; for example, in Krzeszowice, during the course of the reports-elections meetings, candidate-membership cards were granted to ten comrades, in Alwernia, three candidate members were accepted, as many were accepted in Zabierzow and Zielonki, four received candidate-membership cards in the Krowoderski district and in the center-city, six candidates joined.

/Given all the talk during discussions about the party's "aging," these facts regarding admittances into the PZPR are also characteristic of the current reports-elections campaign. They are a feature that builds hope./

Nowy Sacz Party Campaign Meeting

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 23 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: (ss)]

[Text] (Own information) The meeting held yesterday [22 November 1983] of the PZPR Primary Party Organization [POP] at the Nowy Sacz Fruit-Vegetable Industry Plant [SZPOW] lasted almost 5 hours. It should be pointed out right at the outset that it was neither dragged out nor wasted on procedural matters. The 67 people making up this organization believe that there can be no issues of indifference for party members. During the discussion, then, many subjects were discussed that are of fundamental importance to the entire workforce of 600 people that has supplied about one-third more products for the market this year than last year. This has been possible partly because the plant management has embarked upon a program of efficiency, productivity and thrift. This is all taking place with the full awareness of the workforce about the potential, the needs and the problems of the enterprise that despite "hard times" is being expanded, gaining new possibilities for stocking fruits and

vegetables in the immediate future. The machinery and equipment indispensable for the proper utilization of the new facility was purchased for hard, convertible currency under the so-called "self-repayment" system, i.e., paying debts through the export of one's own products. Expansion to foreign markets is not the only secret of SZPOW's good fortune. An analysis of third quarter results shows that in the plant, which has used its own incentives system for 2 years, the following reductions have occurred by comparison with a year ago: time not used working--19 percent, absence due to illness--13 percent and paid stoppages--12 percent. Several innovations have also been implemented.

There was also discussion of the action taken by the plant in conjunction with Krakow schools to rebuild the base of plum orchards hit recently by blight and of the housing construction issue. The need was pointed out to make the work of trade more efficient and to improve the quality of bakery and pork-butcher products sold in Nowy Sacz. Above all, however, the work of the POP thus far was evaluated and a program was outlined for its future work. The function of first secretary was entrusted to a young engineer-mechanic, Jozef Kaluza. Two delegates were also elected to the municipal party conference. Mandates were received by Jan Zabrzanski and by PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] first secretary in Nowy Sacz Jozef Brozek, a member of this party organization that participated in yesterday's meeting.

Party Campaigns at Tarnow, Krakow

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 24 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Tarnow Health Service Problems

Yesterday [23 November 1983] the Reports Elections Conference of the PZPR Plant Committee Health Service in Tarnow was held. Deliberations were participated in by the following: KC [Central Committee] Politburo member, PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] first secretary Stanislaw Opalko, PZPR KM [City Committee] first secretary in Tarnow Col Henryk Dabrowski and Tarnow mayor Mieczyslaw Strzelecki.

The discussion was substantive and concrete. Statements reflected concern over working conditions and over improving work methods. Social issues of workers were also discussed. Progress in the work on construction of the Voivodship Joint Hospital in Tarnow was spoke of with pride; at the same time, the difficult working conditions at the site of this investment were noted. The problem of housing for health service employees and the cadre shortage, especially the shortage of auxiliary personnel were also brought up. Problems from the sphere of medical ethics and the doctor-patient relationship were discussed.

Stanislaw Petlic, MD, deputy director of the Voivodship Joint Hospital, proposed that mini-clinics be set up on the first floor of housing units in newly built complexes until the new clinics are ready. This proposal is worthy of the attention of city officials.

During the discussion, a great deal of attention was devoted to trade unions and to their cooperation with the management and the plant party organization.

Czeslawa Aleksiewicz was elected first secretary of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] Health Service in Tarnow.

PAN: The Milieu Is Determined by Its Nature

The past few years have been especially difficult ones for the party organization of the Krakow PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] branch. Many members left or were stricken from the roster, interest in party meetings decline and the offensive stance of the organization weakened. The causes for this varied and emanated both from problems encountered by the entire party and from those that had local, community causes. It must be remembered that scholars are a specific occupational group and that it is difficult to consider PAN just one more workplace. The nature of the milieu determines many things, including the activities of the party organization.

This fact was stressed several times during yesterday's [23 November 1983] reports-elections meeting of the PZPR Plant Committee of the PAN Krakow branch and institutions. During the discussion, a great deal of attention was paid to the low level of wages at PAN and to its share in the implementation of economic reform. The "production" of scholars is not the same as production in industrial plants. Economic measures are deceptive here; meanwhile, they often determine the difference in the earnings of scholars working in equivalent positions. If the party shows an interest in these issues, said Prof Ryszard Ciach, it likewise will strengthen its prestige in the community.

The style of party work was also spoken of during the discussion. The members of the organization should have the courage to speak the whole truth within their own body, without passing over "delicate" issues in silence. Prof Roman Reinfuss said that they should also make party meetings less formal, make them more comradely to foster the exchange of views.

Master's degree holder Tadeusz Kumorek was re-elected KZ first secretary in secret ballot; at the same time he was entrusted with the mandate of delegate to the PZPR district conference. Dr. Wanda Morozowa and master's degree holder Janusz Wiltowski were also elected representatives of the PAN branch to the PZPR KK [Krakow Committee] Scientific Community Committee.

Krakow-Center City KD [District Committee] first secretary Ryszard Borowiecki and deputy director of the KK Scientific Department Janusz Wroblewski took part in the meeting.

Meeting of Krakow Executive Board

Yesterday [23 November 1983] a meeting was held of the PZPR KK [Krakow Committee] Executive Board. It was chaired by KK first secretary Jozef Gajewicz. The Executive Board assessed the primary level echelons and evaluated the reports-elections campaign in the Krakow city voivodship.

Reports-elections meetings have already been held in more than half of the district party organizations [OOP] and primary party organizations [POP]. They are taking place in an objective, constructive atmosphere. Production and social/daily living issues of workers and problems of strengthening the role and significance of the party in the community dominate in discussions held during the meetings.

The programs of action adopted are concrete and are based upon the real needs of the community.

Krakow Seminar on Polish-Soviet Friendship

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 24 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: (bp)]

[Text] (Own information) Polish-Soviet friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union have become in recent years the subject of a malicious, unscrupulous propaganda campaign conducted by Western centers of ideological diversion and by anti-socialist forces in Poland.

Consequently, the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society is organizing in Poland a series of discussions on the topic "Who is undermining the Polish-Soviet alliance and why?" to include the widespread participation of society.

Ten regional and voivodship seminars are inaugurating the discussion. They have already taken place in Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin and Opole, and yesterday--organized by the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] ZG [Main Board] and the TPPR ZK [Krakow Board]--in Krakow. The latter was attended by TPPR activists and by workers from the ideological front from the following voivodships: Kielce, Krosno, Nowy Sacz, Przemysl, Rzeszow, Tarnobrzeg, Tarnow, Krakow and the Krakow-City Voivodship.

The seminar was opened by deputy chairman of the TPPR ZK, vice mayor of Krakow Jan Nowak. Talks were given by TPPR ZG member, deputy chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs Jan Grzelak; chairman of the TPPR ZK Journalists' Club, deputy director of PR [Polish Radio] in Krakow Andrzej Nartowski; PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] scientific employee Dr Eleonora Syzdek; and member of the Presidium of the TPPR ZG Central Lecturers' Circle Stanislaw Chlodzik.

In his address Jan Grzelak stressed that in the tense international situation that threatens peace, the imperialistic goals of the United States and its

allies lie at the basis of the undermining of Polish-Soviet friendship. These goals are the weakening of socialist forces in the world and the destruction of the power structure that arose after World War II. The growing economic and military might of the socialist community and the growth in significance of the forces of progress and socialism in the world have caused the United States to begin to make attempts to stir up and support destructive processes in socialist states and to weaken and crush Marxist-Leninist parties. Internal anti-socialist forces draw their inspiration and their material and propaganda support from specialized Western diversionary centers. The United States has marked out special tasks for these internal forces in Poland.

It was emphasized in speeches that there is a need to make society fully aware of the essentially anti-Polish intentions and plans of the anti-socialist forces in Poland and the Western centers of ideological diversion that work together with them and stand for anti-Sovietism, for pulling Poland out of the socialist community, for changing the power structure in Europe and for canceling the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It is indispensable that we call for an objective, factual, documented, politically justified discussion of the role and significance of Polish-Soviet friendship and alliance determining the sovereign, secure and successful development of Poland and its rightful place in Europe and the world. There is a need to unmask falsehoods and lies, ruthless methods and forms of ideological struggle, political interference and the economic pressure applied by American imperialism and by America's allies against our country.

This is the sort of honest talk and open discussion, that did not ignore the troublesome facts and complex events of history, that went on at yesterday's seminar. Many questions were asked, especially by the many young people in attendance. The lecturers gave in-depth answers, explained issues and offered direct quotes from documents.

8536

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RAKOWSKI DISMISSES DIALOGUE WITH SOLIDARITY

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 14 Dec 83 p 21

[Article by Robert-Julius Nuesse: "His Voice Becomes Harsh When He Hears the Trigger Word 'Solidarity'"]

[Text] Poland's Vice Prime Minister Rakowski and the Labor Union Movement

Flushed with victory in 1981, the "Solidarity" Labor Union allegedly lost its head and conjured up the threat of intervention by the Warsaw Pact. Only the proclamation of the "state of war" [martial law] supposedly was able to avert a disaster for Poland and possibly even for all of Europe. Boiled down to its bare essence, that is the analysis of the interrelationships which reportedly led to Poland's present devastating domestic and foreign political situation, as pictured by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Poland's deputy prime minister, Politburo member and closest advisor to party boss and head of government Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The idea that "Solidarity" is supposedly to be blamed for everything is not surprising--and "Solidarity" after all is a movement to which millions of Poles had pinned their hopes, which uplifted and changed an entire nation; since that 13 December 2 years ago, when the government called the military into action, it has been a part of the steady repertory to be found in all official declarations designed to justify the dramatic rupture of the dialogue with the people. Even more noteworthy here is the openness with which the Polish vice prime minister discusses the issue of an invasion by troops from the fraternal socialist countries in Poland, an issue which is treated as being taboo in public. Did the former journalist Rakowski really think that he owed his guests and former colleagues from the FRG something more, something above and beyond the information coming through government propaganda?

The explanation which the minister used at the start of the one-hour conversation in the huge conference hall of his official headquarters in turning down in a friendly but determined fashion the request made by an NDR [North German Radio] editor to be allowed to tape the conversation--"in that case, I might at the same time read to you an editorial from TRIBUNA LUDU"--that explanation initially does arouse such expectations. And these expectations were even met--a little bit. Such as when the Polish government's head thinker speaks of "our view of a disciplined society in Poland" which, first and foremost, sees the duties and only then its rights ("just the way the Germans have been doing

this for a long time") and then, in this connection, mentions the authoritarian Marshal Pilsudski.

But when it comes to the trigger word "Solidarity" Rakowski--who in 1980-1981 negotiated so frequently and so persistently with its spokesmen and who fought to achieve compromises--does not deviate from the party line; as a matter of fact, the tone of his voice at times becomes unusually harsh--and could this be a sign of disappointed goodwill or at least sympathy?

Be that as it may. At any rate, the guests--five West German journalists on a fact-finding trip through Poland prepared by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Polish Agency Interpress--started their questioning of the vice prime minister with the topic "Solidarity and the Consequences" for some obvious reasons because, after all, Rakowski is the man in the Polish leadership who is responsible for the entire "superstructure" and thus also for labor union matters. Even though the answers in many cases could not be satisfactory because they left unmentioned the decades of mistakes (and broken promises) by those in power as essential cause of quite a few excesses by the "Solidarity" people's movement--and even those who are still supporters of "Solidarity" in Poland admit today that "Solidarity" did make mistakes by "overreaching itself."

The first question was this: Will the agreements of Danzig, Stettin, and Jastrzebie, which ultimately led to the founding of the independent labor union "Solidarity," be implemented at some time in the future and will the dialogue with the workers be continued, as General Jaruzelski had promised in December 1981? Yes, Rakowski replied, "we stand behind the social agreements of 1980," although their implementation at this time is difficult because of the poor economic situation. But there would no longer be a dialogue with Lech Walesa and his colleagues because, in his opinion, it turned out that they are not interested in a dialogue.

Walesa and the other "Solidarity" leaders of course no longer interlocutors for those who run the government in Warsaw but "Solidarity" is naturally still a subject of official and private conversations. Marian Podkowinski, chairman of the Foreign Press Association, said that one must make a distinction between Walesa, who "in the meantime has become insignificant" and "Solidarity" as an attitude of "nay-saying" against the absolute power claim raised by the Communist Party; this attitude is supposedly still widespread.

When questioned about their attitude toward Walesa, workers in Bytom (Beuthen), in Upper Silesia, later differentiated in a similar manner. One should not identify the protest of the workers with a single name; the majority of the personnel forces is becoming more and more neutral toward him: "The Walesa issue is history already for many of them." Perhaps much more so in remote Upper Silesia than in other parts of Poland and especially in Danzig.

Here at least and also otherwise among many Poles, Walesa without question is still revered. As an organization, "Solidarity" on the other hand has been extensively destroyed by the tough action taken by the Jaruzelski administration, except for occasional appeals from the underground, just as recently once again

through the appeal for demonstrations on 16 December. But in the broader sense likewise, "Solidarity"--in the opinion of an editor who has in the meantime been retired--"is finished"; it supposedly no longer arouses any hopes among the population he said: "When somebody, standing in a long line in front of a store--and as a retiree I see that often--praises 'Solidarity,' many people immediately object very strongly."

What might the reasons be for this growing "being sick and tired of Solidarity?" Especially after all the enthusiasm in 1980 and 1981. One very essential reason--as emerges also from many conversations--would appear to be the fact that more and more Poles see a direct connection between the eagerness of "Solidarity" in 1981 and the poor supply situation today--the living standard in Poland, according to official figures, dropped by more than 25 percent in recent years. "By threatening strikes," explained Pawel Chochdak, director of the Bureau for Cooperation with the Labor Unions attached to the Council of Ministers, "'Solidarity' made sure that working hours were reduced but that social benefits and wages were raised at the same time--without production going up at the same time." The consequence of this supposedly was inflation and empty shops--"And that is something which the majority of the Poles no longer want."

Vice Prime Minister Rakowski declared firmly that there would no longer be any dialogue with Walesa and the other "Solidarity" leaders; on the other hand the party in the future would like to have a dialogue with the spokesmen of the new labor unions of whom, after prior organization on the enterprise level, in the meantime 28 have been formed as "federations" in the individual industry branches on a national level; in the end, there are supposed to be approximately 100 such federations.

The question as to whether these new labor unions could help the government in its attempt to win confidence among the population was answered with "yes" by Rakowski. But the vice prime minister decidedly rejected the assumption that these labor unions could involve a revival of the former, so-called and completely worn-out "branch labor unions" which were then swept away by "Solidarity." According to Rakowski's information, there is "no chance" that Poland would ever again have labor unions that would work along government lines as in the past.

All one has to do is to look at the members and one can see that this could not be otherwise because, first of all, joining these new labor unions is a completely voluntary thing and it is therefore not automatic, as in the past, but it has to be a deliberate step. Besides, since approximately 80 percent of the workers reportedly were organized in "Solidarity" until the end of 1981, very many and partly up to 65 percent of the members in the new labor unions necessarily are former members of "Solidarity."

For this reason alone--according to Rakowski--the new labor union movement is entirely different from the one that existed until August 1980. And then he employed a phrase which we heard over and over again during those 10 days in Poland in this or a similar version; After the dissolution of "Solidarity" and after the difficult time of martial law, Poland today has "a society which is vastly different" from what it was during the 1960's and 1970's. The self-confidence

of many Poles in dealing with any "authority" which grew in 1980 and 1981 obviously is still there--and the authority knows that.

Nobody tries to conceal the fact that the absolute membership figures of these new labor unions altogether are not yet as high as would be welcome in the interest of the desired development of confidence between the people and the government--allegedly 3.58 million as against around 12 million employed individuals in the "socialist state sector" and as against 10 million members who supposedly were with "Solidarity." One of the causes of this would seem to be a widespread distrust--further stirred up by calls for boycott from the underground--toward the government establishment. According to Raimund Moric, the 39-year-old chairman of the new Federation of the Mine Worker Union, many however simply wanted to wait and see--"they wanted to take a critical look at our activity first."

Moric--a third-generation miner at the "Wujek" Mine near Katowice and, most recently, after working below ground for 14 years, also a master-miner--estimates the number of determined opponents, who of course also exist, at between 10 and 15 percent; out of around 6,000 workers at the "Wujek" Mine, 2,600 have so far joined the new labor union.

Moric and his colleagues on the labor union presidium, Waclaw Martyniu, Piotr Lytek, Stanislaw Blachnicki, and Kazimierz Mardjski--two of them are former members of "Solidarity" and all of them worked below ground for many years until they were recently elected to the executive body of the Mine Worker Union--for 2-1/2 hours answered all questions, even uncomfortable questions, with the kind of openness which has a sympathetic effect and which is convincing. Immediately they made it clear as to what tradition they consider themselves to be following: "We feel that we are the heirs of the movement of 1980--an authentic worker protest."

Concerning the motives for the founding of the new labor unions among the rank and file, Moric said that, after the suspension and the following dissolution of "Solidarity," nobody was any longer responsible for social matters; there was no protection for worker rights--"and that is when we went into action."

Moric explained the difference as compared to "Solidarity." He compared the state to a cow and thought that he and his colleagues wanted to get as much milk as possible from the cow for the workers but that cow must not be allowed to die because of weakness. That reportedly was the mistake made by "Solidarity," in other words, it wanted to make politics and it milked the cow too much: "These ruthless strikes were unwise because they caused the cow to collapse." But, Moric adds emphatically, "We, too, will if necessary achieve through strikes those demands which are feasible!"

Strike? Yes, according to the new labor union law of 8 October 1982 which, compared to the earlier one, is "very precise" and which, as Director Chochdak emphasized, was discussed with international experts before it was passed in the Sejm [Parliament] and which supposedly did not raise any objections from those experts, there is a right to strike where the interests, in other words, the wages of the workers are at stake; in case of legal conflicts in the

enterprise on the other hand there is no right to strike and those conflicts would be settled by the labor courts.

In view of the momentarily rather desolate economic situation and in view of the government which, after the lifting of martial law, was equipped with new emergency powers, it remains to be seen when all possibilities of this labor union law--which is quite good also in the opinion of the FRG embassy press attache in Warsaw--can be fully exhausted. At any rate, the demands raised by the new Mine Worker Union go beyond the Jastrzebie agreement (in Jastrzebie, the government and the party in 1980 shortly after the Danzig and Stettin agreements yielded to the specific demands of the Upper Silesian workers).

The program, which was drafted after 2 months of deliberations and which was approved at the 17-18 October Labor Union Congress, goes beyond the "typical worker demands" (Moric) of 1980 and develops very specific ideas on economic policy, on housing construction, on the complexes of the health system and working conditions, as well as on environmental protection.

This first congress for the time being terminated the buildup of the new Mine Worker Union. It began with the election of contact men in all divisions of the, so far, 72 enterprises in this industry branch (out of a possible 80) which have already joined the Federation. These contact men, in each enterprise, chose two delegates, each, for the "Federation Council," the union's highest body. From its midst, the nine-member presidium was then elected and its members (including five full-time), as agents of the council, do not have the right to vote in the council.

In response to the final question addressed to Raimund Moric and his colleagues --as to whether they might not visualize a situation where this democratic structure for their labor union might trigger demands among the population to put up similar structures also in other spheres, in the end, even in politics-- party member Moric avoided just once a clear reply: "We had democratic and secret elections also at the time of the Ninth Congress of the PUWP" (Poland's Communist Party).

5058

CSO: 2300/217

BATRIC JOVANOVIĆ INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF ASSEMBLY

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 254, 19 Nov 83 pp 14-17

[Interview with Batric Jovanovic, delegate in the SFRY Assembly, by Dragan Barjaktarevic: "I Cannot Sleep Peacefully ..."; date and place not specified]

[Text] Batric Jovanovic's biography in politics and war and as a member of the party was stamped back in 1941, when, no more than a child at the time, he took up a rifle and went off to join the Partizans. From that time to this he has been fighting for the "ongoing revolution" with a firm conviction that the struggle for socialism must be an "unceasing struggle."

He was taught both in his own family and in the party to "speak the truth even on a mountain," and not to keep silent either when it is good or when it is bad.

After the war he was the commanding officer of federal youth labor brigade projects when the people and youth were building back the devastated country. He was an assistant minister in the federal government, SFRY ambassador to UNESCO....

He has been a delegate in the last two convocations of the SFRY Assembly. His voice is often heard from the rostrum of the federal parliament. Which accounts for our first question:

Too Much Backing Off Is Put Up With

[Question] So what does a delegate in the SFRY Assembly fight for?

Jovanovic: A delegate in the SFRY Assembly should in every situation and at every moment express the desires and interests of his delegate base, which is to say the interests of the working people and citizens, or at least the enormous majority of the working people and citizens. There actually exist no sort of other special interests for which he should fight aside from those. Ideally, I think that every delegate ought actually to fight for the interests of the entire country, since those are the interests of his constituency and the interests of Yugoslavia.

He should fight consistently to achieve what has been set down in the SFRY Constitution and Party Program, that is, he should fight against all those things in Yugoslavia which signify departures from the provisions of the constitution and everything that has arisen out of it.

This is in short what ought to be the portrait of our delegate.

[Question] There has been an abundance of those retreats, especially now. Doesn't that make the tasks of the delegate you have mentioned more complicated and responsible?

Jovanovic: There has indeed been more backing off than can be tolerated. Rather often practice differs diametrically from what has been proclaimed, from what we have conceived and written down in the basic documents of the society. I could cite you as many examples of such retreats as you like. All of this makes a portion of the people resigned, and concerning certain matters people say that no one knows which end is up.

[Question] For example?

Jovanovic: One of the elementary things in the constitution is that all realization of income or property must be the result of work, that the realization of income other than as the result of work is unconstitutional. However, in practice we have plenty of that. People--thousands, tens of thousands, or perhaps a few hundred thousand--have gotten rich without work.

[Question] Some people feel that this has taken on such proportions that that monkey business has become the rule rather than the exception.

Jovanovic: I think it would be going too far to say that it has become the rule. Nevertheless, we are talking about a large minority. It would be fine if a majority were rich, then we would be a society of prosperity!

However, the number of people becoming rich illegally is increasing. Many hold a privileged social position, they have immense income from which they do not set aside for public purposes anywhere near what they are supposed to under the constitution and law.

But I would stress yet another stunning violation of the constitution. It is constantly being repeated that we favor the policy of a realistic rate of exchange for the dinar. However, in practice we actually have a policy of an absolutely unrealistic rate of exchange of the dinar, which is craftily passed off as the policy of a realistic rate of exchange of the dinar! In my opinion, that is manipulation. Just imagine what the following datum means: In the first 10 months of this year the dinar was almost inaudibly devalued by 79 percent, although we in the SFRY Assembly, that is, in the Commission of Federal Social Councils for Problems of Economic Stabilization, adopted a document according to which the so-called depreciation (devaluation) of the dinar against the convertible currencies was actually supposed to be the difference between the rate of inflation in the advanced countries with a market economy and our own rate of inflation. So, the rate of inflation in

our country up through 1 November of this year was 41.9 percent, and inflation in the countries with a market economy averaged 3 percent! This means that the difference was 38.9 percent, yet the dinar was devalued by all of 79 percent, which is more than double! The consequences of this are truly catastrophically bad, since all the intermediate products and raw materials being imported for our factories have in this way been made much more expensive in an artificial way. There is no point wasting words in saying how much this stimulates inflation! On the other hand, this has greatly deepened inequalities as to the conditions for the conduct of economic activity. It is no longer so important how much a man works or what he does, but the essential thing is where he works, in which organization of associated labor.

Immense resources have been transferred in this way--I have calculated that 28 billion old dinars were unjustifiably transferred to private owners of foreign exchange accounts alone!

Reality Is Disturbing

[Question] I am left speechless, Comrade Jovanovic! How is that possible?

Jovanovic: As you see, the facts of reality show that this is possible, that the departures are exaggerated. I have only given certain examples of the backing off from what has been set forth quite clearly in the papers governing social behavior and the system which are in effect and which are binding on all. The Anti-Inflation Program, for instance, unambiguously stated how much the devaluation would be. But, as you see, a huge and terrible devaluation of the dinar has been undertaken, and that signifies a devaluation of the human labor and standard of living of the immense majority of the working people.

As a citizen and as a delegate in the SFRY Assembly, I cannot reconcile myself to that....

[Question] You recently spoke about that in the Assembly. You asked for an answer to the question of how such a devaluation of the dinar occurred? I had the impression that you knew the answer even when you put that question, or at least half of the answer!

Jovanovic: I know the answer. It is logical. However, there are cases of asking even about something which is unclear either to the person asking the question or to the delegate base from which he has come. A delegate recently asked on behalf of the people from his region, from Livno, why, as he put it, prices were leaping up so brutally, so that in this area, in price policy, it truly was no longer clear which end was up? Of course, he did not obtain a satisfactory answer!

As a rule it is clear to me on every occasion what should be done to prevent what is happening, but I raise those questions to see whether I might exert influence in the direction of some improvement. My purpose is not really a dialogue and an exchange of fire. I am only conscientiously performing my duty as a party member and citizen of this country, since all the irregularities are painful to me. I have no peace because of them, often I am unable

to sleep.... Consequently, the purpose of my questions is not criticism for the sake of criticism, but a desire to overcome what is bad, to correct what is not what it should be. I would be the happiest man in the world if everything were in order, so that I did not have to put those social questions which, as some have called them, are awkward and "embarrassing." Since it is not my questions which are provocative and disturbing, but this reality of ours, and to pretend to be blind and deaf in the face of that is equivalent to sabotage!

[Question] The questions which you and other delegates are putting in our parliament are being uttered by citizens everywhere: in the workplace, at home, on the streets, in buses, in the coffeehouse. One can hear them everywhere. But in the Assembly they have greater force and authority....

Jovanovic: Well, you know, it is our duty to put precisely those questions which are bothering our working people and citizens, since it is they who have sent us to the Assembly. It is not for nothing that the SFRY Constitution has stated that the Assembly is an organ of social self-management and the highest body of government in the country!...

[Question] But is that what it really is?

Jovanovic: In practice it isn't, not to the extent that it ought to be under the constitution. I would say that it does not even come close!

I think that that position concerning it must change, that it must have the position which it was granted by the constitution. After all, we are talking about delegates who have been sent directly from below, whom the people have authorized to represent it. That is why the Assembly must in practice be the highest body of government in the country, must have real and not fictitious authority.

The Abstract Answers of the Federal Executive Council [SIV]

[Question] Who is taking from the Assembly those powers defined by the constitution? Is it SIV? Does SIV maintain dominance over the Assembly?

Jovanovic: SIV is objectively in a situation of finding itself on the one hand between the Assembly and the collective head of state--the SFRY State Presidency, and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on the other. SIV is in a position of taking a position in the SFRY Assembly, it might be said, that essentially constitutes manifest independence of the Assembly. In my opinion, this is altogether untenable, since it is not in the spirit of the constitution. That position of SIV can also be seen from the responses of the government to the questions put by the delegates in the Assembly. Not even 20 percent of the delegates are satisfied with those responses, at least I have not been satisfied with a single answer.

[Question] Who answers the delegates on behalf of SIV?

Jovanovic: The answers are given by the civil servants. They confuse matters to such an extent, intentionally no doubt--so that there is no chance that anyone will turn out to be responsible that things are such-and-such a way in a particular sphere, and in all this he himself, that civil servant, is afraid that he himself will turn out to be responsible, and he therefore tries to make his answers so mushy and vague that he says nothing concrete at all. Some contrived justifications are always found for this or that move, instead of the honest statement: This is how it is, let the chips fall where they may! Of course, it is not my aim here that heads should roll at this point because of all that, but there has to be an honest and communist relationship so that the problems and events are represented the way they actually are.

[Question] Do you have the impression that some of the answers are given from a position of some kind of domination?

Billionaires and the Constitution

Jovanovic: I will illustrate with my own example the kind of attitude there is toward the delegates, that is, toward the questions we ask and the initiatives we take.

In mid-November of last year I put a few questions related to unlawful enrichment in our country. I received the answers 1.5 months later, that is, at the end of last year. And then I commented on this in early February of this year, when the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, on my motion, resolved to open parliamentary debate at one of the next meetings on this topic and ordered the government to prepare a corresponding analysis of unjustified social inequities in our country. It was supposed to do this before the summer recess, that is, in June or July, but SIV has not yet submitted that analysis to the Assembly! I have no comment as to what can be drawn from that!

[Question] That was your demand that the figures on the Yugo-billionaires be published. You said at the time that there are some 7,000-8,000 of them. Do you know today how many there are?

Jovanovic: The word "billionaire" sounds at first like a bomb. However, both earlier and also in the meantime the dinar has been losing so much in its value that I feel that today someone could become a billionaire even through honest work! (Based on old dinars)

That business of the billionaires was only a pretext for putting the question about unlawful enrichment, about enrichment without work, aside from distribution on the basis of the results of work.

Before that the datum that there are 7,000-8,000 billionaires in Yugoslavia was presented in the Serbian Trade Unions Congress. That is, I did not, as it is said, suck that figure out of my little finger!

I proposed that a law be passed on confiscation of property acquired illegally, but SIV replied that there was no basis for that. I, of course, responded. This is a nonsensical view, since the SFRY Constitution prohibits acquisition of unlawful property. That is, the constitution has been violated! From that standpoint there is not even any need to pass a law on confiscation of property acquired illegally, since what need is there for a law when this is regulated by the constitution?! Then the response to that, to the effect that this is not in the power of SIV, is, of course, another piece of nonsense, since it is stated quite unambiguously, again in the constitution, that SIV is accountable to the SFRY Assembly for the situation in all spheres of the life of society. SIV cannot, then, stand aloof from any problem. What kind of government is it that would not be responsible for social welfare policy?

(I) Rich Men Who Have Not Broken the Law

[Question] Why are these questions passed over?

Jovanovic: You know, those billionaires might include people who have resided abroad for a decade or two or even more as government or economic representatives and who under some of our legislation in effect have yet been in a position, contrary to the constitution, to acquire enormous wealth.

[Question] You yourself were abroad for 4 years in Paris, as SFRY ambassador to UNESCO. Use your own example to explain this.

Jovanovic: Yes, at one time I did spend 4 years in Paris. Like all the others, during those 4 years I did not report that income which I had there in Paris, but the income which I had had here, before I left, multiplied by the percentage of adjustments of earnings of federal officials. But this is nonsense, since this is a much smaller amount than that income in foreign currency received abroad. This "system" is in place even today. Since the war tens of thousands of people have gone through those services abroad, both diplomatic and business, and have not paid a single dinar of tax on their income in foreign currencies. This, as I say, is absurd. Not to mention the rest....

[Question] What "rest"?

Jovanovic: That multitude of people who have built weekend cottages with housing credits, for example! To be sure, they repay those credits in 20 years, but inflation has made those credits and the rates of interest ridiculously small, and yet the value of that property has increased formidably. Many people, then, have gained immense wealth under privileged conditions.

[Question] And the rate of inflation has been extremely high in the housing field?

Jovanovic: Even the word "extremely" sounds rather modest here! For instance, in Belgrade in 1977 the price per square meter of residential floor space was 1 million old dinars, and today it is 6 or 7 million, with a

tendency toward a further rise. In that time, over those 5 years, overall inflation in the country has been approximately half as high.

[Question] Awhile ago you spoke about the property acquired by our representatives all over the world. What do you say as a party member and veteran of the war about those several hundred business representatives abroad, who are also veterans of the war and members of the party, who have "angrily" refused to return to the country and take jobs here? For decades they have been milking our economy, and now they don't like that "cow"!

Jovanovic: I do not know what kind of fighters and members of the party they are. Pretty poor, no doubt. These are not communists, but grafters, people who joined the LCY with an ulterior motive. I cannot call that anything else but treason. This is a case of selling your beliefs to get supper, something of the most repulsive kind. Yet there have been such people, and unfortunately there will be in the future. There is some of that even in the country. There are those who call themselves communists but are such grafters and calculating people that even computers cannot keep up with them.

That is, I have the impression that entry into the party has been liberalized too much. Which is why there are people in the party who declare themselves to be in favor of the Program, but who in actuality favor capitalistic relations and a capitalist society. There are also chauvinists.... Differentiation of party members has become a matter of fateful importance to it, but, as you see, the differentiation has not yet taken place.

Grafters in the Party

[Question] To what extent does the party's own arbitration in personnel policy contribute to these "grafting tendencies"? It is no secret that some people would do anything to get on those personnel lists of the party.

Jovanovic: I think that it is unacceptable for an able and industrious man, if he is a patriot, if he is firmly in favor of this kind of Yugoslavia, but is not a member of the party, for such a person not to be, for example, the director of some work organization or the like. It is much better to have people like that than some grafter from the bosom of the party.

[Question] One gets the impression from the many questions which you raise that you are in favor of public scrutiny of the business of government bodies. At what level is that public scrutiny?

Jovanovic: I think it is not at a satisfactory level. Let us take this devaluation of the dinar as an example. If this had been presented openly in public, if it had been publicly discussed, if there had been a debate in periodicals, over television and radio, in the Assembly, and so on, then certainly the right decisions would have resulted. However, this was decided in a narrow group of interested persons.

They have told me in the National Bank of Yugoslavia that they can tell by people's reaction what organizations they are from, not its actual title, but

whether it imports or exports, or does something else, and they can even tell which republic he is from.

[Question] What is the situation with dialogue in our country?

Jovanovic: There is a dialogue in our society, that is beyond all doubt. If we make an analysis of our media, we will see that there are many discussions, that a dialogue is taking place, although it often seems to me like a conversation among deaf men, or actually a monologue. At the same time, I think that in some areas there are too many opportunities open for planting certain views which are alien to socialism. I personally am in favor of having everything that is negative in our society openly criticized, since only in that way can crises and adversities be overcome, since criticism wakes us up out of our lethargic sleep, it shakes up the status quo. However, I am not in favor of criticism which runs everything down, but does not propose new solutions and strategies.

[Question] As a delegate in the SFRY Assembly, you are one of those who pass the laws. Our well-known lawyers have been talking about the inflation of those laws. They say that there are too many of them and that that is why they do not function. Do you have that impression when you are voting for them?

Greater Severity Toward Scoundrels

Jovanovic: I think that that generalization does not stand, since there are laws which are altogether functional. But there are indeed laws which are not being enforced at all. It really is difficult, and I fear arbitrary, to offer general answers as to why laws are not being respected. Take, for example, those laws which were supposed to prevent various cases of machination and abuse in the economy. In view of the steady devaluation of the dinar, punitive measures have become almost symbolic, so that for many it pays to commit offenses. That is, the law is violated deliberately. Certainly there are effective laws. But there are many things wrong in the economic system, and there are also failures in the political system.

[Question] Here are the figures: last year charges were filed against 318,751 persons for all types of crime. Analyses show that white-collar crime and theft of social property are increasing rapidly, while political crimes are declining. What do those figures tell you?

Jovanovic: There has been discussion of this in the Assembly. Many delegates have advocated more rigorous punitive policy, arguing that it makes no sense for theft of social property to be advantageous to anyone.

This very day examples were given in the press about how it is possible for stolen property not to be confiscated from persons convicted of crime. That is, these fees transfer the property to some member of their family, and--they think it's great! They serve their time, and when they go back they have something to show for it! I think the primary thing should be compensating society for stolen property, for returning to it what belongs to it. If

this is not done, what will be the effect of such examples on other citizens? Doesn't this virtually amount to supporting and encouraging theft?

I think we have the number of white-collar crimes we do because of our failure with punitive policy. That is, it was our aim to make that punitive policy as humane as possible. We obviously went too far in that. Reality demonstrates that offenders must not be pardoned, that punitive policy must be more severe and effective. I think that there should be special panels within the district courts that would concern themselves exclusively with white-collar crime and would quickly clear up all the cases. At present this often goes on for years, and when the thing is stretched out and watered down to that extent, then the use of influence and connections, bribery, and so on, begin to make themselves felt. The escalation of white-collar crime is also favored quite a bit by the superficial work done by inspectorates, which do not detect cases of these crimes early enough.

[Question] Do you mean to say that the courts and investigatory agencies can be bought?

Jovanovic: Those people are human, too, so why would it be impossible?! I have proposed, and I am proposing, that the people who work in those positions be paid as much as possible, that they be guaranteed the best possible standard of living, so as to diminish the possibility of bribery, of calculation and bias. But in our country the courts and the police are supported out of the opstina treasury, so that where that treasury is impoverished, their standard of living is low....

Foreign Exchange Sabotage

[Question] One of your themes and, to be sure, a topic for us all, is the crisis of the economic system. What do you think about that?

Jovanovic: The crisis of the economic system is pronounced. We have been going about things wrong for a decade or two. The most egregious error, the error which is at the root of all our economic difficulties, is the present foreign exchange regime, which has shattered the Yugoslav market, which has legalized the "socialist black market." The legalized transactions of work organizations on the black market in which the dollar is bought and sold at a rate twice the official rate. This has disrupted conditions for the conduct of economic activity and has drastically augmented social inequities. That kind of black market is a kind of absurdity in our self-management socialism.

On the other hand there is inflation, and that a paradoxical inflation, one which favors some and is harsh on others. What I mean is that in the context of such a high rate of inflation there are many who get along wonderfully, although for the majority this is a great evil.

Three things are most important at this point: expansion of exports which makes sense, establishment of a foreign exchange market, and bringing down the rate of inflation.

When I speak about export policy, I am not thinking of exporting at any price, which is what some advocate. Since that kind of policy results in devaluation of the dinar.

[Question] How are those three prerequisites of a successful beginning toward carrying out the long-range economic stabilization program to be achieved?

Jovanovic: How? We did encourage exports, but immediately various speculations took place. I was told in the National Bank of Yugoslavia that there is less foreign exchange in the country this year than at the same time last year, although much larger exports have been achieved now. How is that possible? Well, easily, there is speculation, foreign currencies are held abroad, fictitious compensation deals are made, local border traffic is augmented in order to avoid obligations in the country and toward the country.

[Question] If it is not a "state secret," who is doing this?

Jovanovic: There is no question of a "state secret"! How could it be a secret? This is being done by the exporters, but there is no doubt that they have their advocates in the federal administration who make it possible for them to do this. I am deeply convinced that such things could be eradicated overnight by passing a precise law that would contain criminal provisions stipulating that anyone who does this is thereby committing the crime of sabotage and unlawful speculation.

No one, that is, is against exporting. Far from it, since it is by exporting that we make it possible to purchase raw materials and intermediate products for our factories. That is not in dispute. However, the speculations I have been talking about directly frustrate that process, which is why we are constantly hearing that we cannot import things which are indispensable to production. And how could we, when some of the money from the exports is outside the country?

Perilous Inflation

[Question] How are those processes to be regulated which for years now have been causing a general headache?

Jovanovic: I think that the foreign exchange market could be reestablished virtually overnight, if not in its entirety, then at least partially, which would in any case be better than it is now. This incidentally was agreed on in the documents of the Commission of Federal Social Councils for the Problems of Economic Stabilization. Delegate Jovic from Serbia recently said that even now the conditions exist for 40 percent of the foreign exchange to go on the foreign exchange market and that this should be done with urgency.

[Question] That would also halt the galloping inflation, would it not?

Jovanovic: There is no other way than to take control of inflation. The processes taking place now are insupportable and perilous....

[Question] To what extent has that situation been caused by the slowness of the republics and provinces to reach agreement? That is, one has the impression that often in the SFRY Assembly there is more negotiating than agreement....

Jovanovic: It has been demonstrated with obviousness in the Assembly that there are major differences in views of the foreign exchange market. Some delegates, among whom I am one, have said that the foreign exchange market must commence as of 1 January of next year. Others, on the other hand, dispute this, saying that it is not possible! In my opinion, this is a kind of trap, an attempt to drag things out and postpone them as long as possible in order to enjoy those benefits which this situation affords to some people, though it does not suit the country as a whole.

That is, given Yugoslavia's differing levels of development, differing economic structures, interests also differ. If one republic has a surplus in its foreign trade, it will fight like a tiger, at least so it appears, though this is untenable, for the kind of foreign exchange system that was established in 1977 and which utterly destroyed and shattered the unified Yugoslav market.

If we cannot agree on that, I think that we need to use the method of majority decisionmaking, envisaged by the constitution--adoption of a law on temporary measures. Such laws are normally adopted in the SFRY Assembly by votes of a majority of the delegates.

A Procrustean Bed

[Question] That being the case, why is it that that provision in the constitution is not being used?

Jovanovic: There have been such cases, though rarely, since always the procedure of reaching agreement and reconciling interests was adopted. However, all these matters which I have mentioned were agreed on in the Commission of Federal Social Councils for Problems of Economic Stabilization, and if agreement was reached there, I think there ought not to be discussion and going back to the beginning. Incidentally, this is one of the conclusions of the recent plenum of the LCY Central Committee. Returning the discussion to the beginning, then, as some would like, that is actually hopelessness, that is a paradox, this must not be allowed.

[Question] Debates have also begun in the Assembly on amendments and additions to the political system. What in your opinion should be changed?

Jovanovic: I think that what contributes to territorialization of finance capital should be changed. That was why feudalism collapsed, because economic flows were halted at the borders of the medieval manor! It is absurd, but that is how it is: we now have a system which makes it possible for every opstina to behave like an autarkic whole. It is true that the present political system drives them to that: the creation of new jobs and the functioning of all business activities depends on the economic strength of the opstina. This has to be changed.

[Question] In what respect?

Jovanovic: All sociopolitical communities should be motivated to make the most optimum investments. If that were the outlook, we would not have optina factories, we would not have small-scale production (except in cases when that is efficient), we would have a Yugoslav electric power industry, unified railroads....

Our present political system is having adverse repercussions on economic flows, that is, it is a kind of Procrustean bed for our economy. All the barriers hindering the free and most optimum movement of money and manpower on the unified Yugoslav market must be removed with the greatest urgency.

[Box, pp 16-17]

The Kosovo Situation: The Exodus Continues

[Question] You have said quite a bit from the rostrum of the SFRY Assembly and on other public occasions about the counterrevolution in Kosovo. How do matters stand now? Is the general situation much better, as is asserted?

Jovanovic: The exodus is continuing! To be sure, the rate of departure is down somewhat, but the total number of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo has been considerably diminished. Back 10 years ago they represented over 27 percent, but now that figure has dropped to 13 percent!

I do not believe that the situation has been stabilized to any essential degree.

There are still the main problems of the lack of essential equality and the general coercion of the minority by the majority. The best, most able and industrious people are not being chosen for positions of leadership, from schools and universities to organizations of associated labor and committees, but rather ethnic composition is the key everywhere. I think that this does not lead toward progress, this has a very depressive effect on the specialists and political figures of the nationality which is in the minority. For example, some Serb or Montenegrin may be a genius, but he may not occupy such-and-such a position unless someone of his nationality is called for! In the same way a mediocre Albanian, again on the basis of the ethnic quota, can go very far in his profession and in politics, but not because he is able, but because he is an Albanian. The fact that they do not have the same opportunities, that they do not see a future, that is, of course, driving members of other nationalities, especially the Serbs and Montenegrins, to leave Kosovo, to leave their native home, and this is one of the things that is greatly weakening the composition of the labor force in Kosovo with respect to skills. And all of that is nothing other than a violation of the basic principles of the constitution, since under the constitution all people are equal regardless of nationality, religion, and so on.

[Question] Why are these essential principles of the constitution being violated in Kosovo?

Jovanovic: They are not being violated only in Kosovo. The constitutional principle of the complete equality of Yugoslavia's nationalities and ethnic minorities has been implemented consistently only at the level of the Federation. That is, the republics and provinces are represented in federal bodies and agencies with complete equality regardless of the size of their population. In the multinational republics and provinces, including SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, the ethnic composition of all sociopolitical bodies, government agencies and all governing and supervisory bodies in general is in proportion to the ethnic composition of the population, and in practice that means that those nationalities and ethnic minorities which represent the minority segment of the population are essentially unequal. Not to mention that the numerous injustices committed against Serbs and Montenegrins, all since the mid-sixties, have not been corrected in SAP Kosovo, and trust among the nationalities cannot be restored in the province unless those injustices are corrected.

Everything that I have said I would refer to as a kind of psychological pressure, and that is still there.

[Question] Responsible people in the security service say that the Irredenta is still active, but that it is changing its tactics. There is no doubt that shouting the slogan "E ... Ho" is also part of the "new tactics." While they are working, we are quarreling over what that slogan means! What does that quarreling signify?

Jovanovic: These things are truly amazing. The chairman of the opstina committee in Pristina, who is a member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, says that it has not yet been ascertained what that slogan signifies. The provincial secretary of the security service has also asserted that that slogan was not heard during the 1981 demonstrations and specifically at the anniversary of those demonstrations in 1982. Yet all the newspapers wrote that in April 1982 a large crowd of about 2,000 people on the Corso in Pristina was constantly shouting the slogan "E ... Ho," which means "Enver Hoxha," during the so-called peaceful demonstrations. It was clearly stated at the time what the slogan meant, and no one made any objection to it then. This slogan has been heard regularly in stadiums in Kosovo, especially in Pristina, since 1982, and it is absurd at this point to state in public that that slogan does not mean what it means. That is, that at this point we need to hear the opinion of a linguist!

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PAPERS AT SOCIOLOGISTS' CONFERENCE ANALYZED

'Gathering of Monologues'

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 387, 19 Nov 83 pp 15-17

[Text] In discussions at a seminar held in Portoroz, sociologists--those who study phenomena and processes in the Yugoslav society--were little inclined towards scientific research and analysis. Apparently, there are no research studies, and some sociologists are inclined to explain this by saying that there is "an unfavorable climate in society." For this reason, there were meditations about social problems, about politics, bureaucracy and politicians, and no one wanted to polemize even with the most eccentric propositions of theoreticians which were out of the realm of science.

If Dr Stipe Suvar, at a joint meeting of the LCY Commission For Ideological and Theoretical Work and For Development and Cadre Policy, had not said that there were serious indications that a meeting of sociologists being held at Portoroz had turned into a "triumph of crisisology," the public would certainly have hardly noted that this learned conference had been held. Thus Suvar got the public interested in what had gone on during the 3-day meeting in Portoroz, and at the same time angered many participants of Sociology Encounters '83.

What happened in Portoroz between 9 and 12 November, and what did the sociologists talk about for 3 days? The official title of the conference, attended by scientists from all over the country, was--Integration and Disintegration Processes In Yugoslav Society. Put more simply, the sociologists gave themselves the task of responding to a very delicate, and very topical question: What is keeping us together, and what is tearing us apart?

After listening to the discussions and reading the collection of articles submitted, we came to the conclusion that the sociologists' ambitions were greater than what they possibly could have hoped to accomplish in reality. This conclusion was forced upon us because for the most part the discussions were more like meditations, rarely calling on any scientific analysis. Only a few sociologists presented their observations from recent studies. For the most part they repeated their old, familiar evaluations, which is understandable when there are no recent research results.

Besides working in the plenary session, meetings simultaneously took place in the organized activity of numerous sections, from those which were "more modern" dealing with the social position of women, and then with leisure time, to a section on social theory. Three round-table discussions were also organized. One dealt with unemployment in Yugoslavia, another with the sociological aspects of the country's long-term development, and the last with opportunities for social mobility in Yugoslav society.

The organizer did not respect the law of physics--it was not possible to be in two places at one time. This sociological "musaka" had an unfavorable effect on the quality of discussion. Professor Srdan Vrcan did not have equal collocutors for the round-table discussion on unemployment in Yugoslavia. It resembled a simultaneous chess match between the esteemed professor and the rest of the discussion participants, who spent more time writing than presenting their own positions. Thus the discussion about this extremely important topic in today's society had all the earmarks of a sociology quiz program. It is amazing that the organizers did not make an effort to give special treatment, or even better, a special term to this round-table so that as many sociologists as possible would be talking about the unemployment problem, as well as about how we have to find a way out. In my journalists' notebook, all that I had to record from this discussion was that unemployment is becoming more and more a women's phenomena, and that waiting for a job continues. Professor Srdan Vrcan opposed the often-heard thesis that the unemployed do not want to leave the big cities. He proved this with the example of Split, and said that at the present time, when the creation of new jobs is more difficult because of the hard economic situation, the most effective "code" for employment becomes the code--countrymen. Vrcan probably criticized Split sports officials even before Portoroz, and at the Sociology Encounters he said something which the majority of the unemployed in that city are probably also thinking--if the money for the sports projects had been invested in industry, Split would not have so many unemployed today.

Discussing the main theme of Sociology Encounters '83, Ljubljana sociology professor Veljko Rus said that the papers prepared for this conference were less optimistic than they were 10 years ago. Now, in his opinion, there is no "storming the heavens." The way out of the current crisis, according to Rus, is in the liberation of great societal potentials, and in seeking an exit from current difficulties it is especially important to engage the intelligentsia.

Professor Veljko Rus thinks that it is especially important now to work on strengthening professional morale because, in his opinion, this is one of the major causes of our problems. He cited the example of the study which compared one of our work organizations with 12 European firms. The study showed that workers in our country have essentially greater influence, while at the same time, managers do not have less power, than in these European firms.

In engaging all the creative forces of our society, Rus sees the integration of Yugoslav universities and Yugoslav technology as having an extremely important role.

Josip Zupanov, a professor from Zagreb, thinks that we have the potential for getting out of the current crisis. Zupanov attempted to answer three of his own rhetorical questions: How does the system of self-management influence the integration of society, how does the state-party complex influence this integration, and how does the interaction of self-management and the state-party complex influence integration? In Zupanov's opinion, the self-management economy seems to come to life to some extent in the materials of the Commission For Stabilization, while in reality, the economy moves towards administrative interventions and regulation. There is no genuine market competition in our country. Zupanov thinks that our firms live under "glass bells."

More and more often one hears the claim in political life that the Constitution permits the division of the Yugoslav market, and some people seek a reason for obstructions at the republic level and for the strength of statism in this basic legal document. Belgrade Professor Radomir Lukic says that the federation is not a factor in either unification or division. These problems appear in specific instances depending upon the distribution of authority of the republics and provinces. The federation can sometimes act to unify, and sometimes to divide. The most important thing is that the actions of the federations not be contradictory. Radomir Lukic thinks that we should determine precisely what those communal interests are which the federation should defend and carry out. Along with this, the federation should be so organized and authority so distributed that conflicts of special interests do not interfere with the implementation of major interests.

Recently, three positions have come to the fore concerning the federation. The prevailing one is that the current state organization is a good one and that it should not be changed. The second position thinks that confederation should be strengthened and that there is too much federalism. The third asserts that the confederation component is too large, that it is harmful, and that the federal government should be strengthened.

One often hears the claim that our constitutional organization is a good one, but that its regulations are not obeyed, and that governments--members of the federation (in our case republics and provinces)--get stronger independently of the Constitution, or even despite of the Constitution. This would mean that it is necessary to return to the Constitution. The second conception, which indeed has less public support, is inclined towards a change in the Constitution. In his article "The Federation and Disintegration in Yugoslavia," Professor Radomir Lukic says that all these points of view have not been studied in detail, and it is difficult to talk about them more precisely.⁹ Lukic says that since the economy is the focus of different viewpoints, the question of a unified Yugoslav market and republic economies is especially important.

Criticism of the "unifier," in Lukic's opinion, refers to the "over-organized" quality of the federation. To be more precise, the excessively complex procedure of making frequent and highly important decisions at the federal level is criticized. In the opinion of the "unifiers," the procedure for coming to an agreement is so complex that it makes it impossible to make the most important decisions on time, resulting in great harm. The defenders of

the current constitutional conception claim that current practice is in accord with the Constitution, and especially that the Constitution should not be changed, since only in this way is it possible to protect the basic national (republic) interests. Lukic thinks that it is difficult to pass judgment in a scientific manner on which of the two positions mentioned is correct. There are no other objective studies. Nevertheless, Lukic thinks that it must be stated clearly that national economies should not be allowed to divide the technological unity of the so-called great technical systems, nor to introduce great differences in the prices of basic economic goods. He also emphasizes that the Constitution does not demand that "republic" locomotives stop at republic borders. This is an inside-out conception of the federation, it is typical stupidity and short-sightedness. Radomir Lukic thinks that we go too far in the creation of special republic systems of education. To create systems in which transferring from one school to another of the same type--from one republic to another, or to a province--is practically impossible, or in which the basic, necessary knowledge is not to a great extent equal (so that diplomas can be validated) is stupid, and is not imposed by constitutional or federal structures. The creation of great differences in republic legislatures, when the legislatures of whole continents, even of the whole world, are unified, is unnecessary.

Silvano Bolcic, speaking of the break in social connections between people, supported his claim with data from a study initiated by the CC LCY Presidency's Center For Social Study, entitled "Opposed Interests and the Activity of the LCY in the Development of an Alliance of Interests in Yugoslav Society." Bolcic emphasized that the reasons for opposition of interests in our society for two-thirds of those tested were, first of all, differences in social position--amount of influence, job, and amount of income--with all other characteristics (what generation one belonged to, nationality, membership in other work organizations, etc.) having significantly less importance.

Those surveyed were asked to choose one of seven phenomena which bothered them the most in our society (or they could provide their own). Workers were most bothered by advertising of goods and amusements for people with high personal incomes. In second place was insufficient devotion of workers to their job. It is interesting that for clerks insufficient devotion was found more bothersome than was the advertising of expensive goods and amusements. The greater the personal income of the person surveyed, the more they were bothered by insufficient devotion of the worker at his job, and the less they were bothered by advertisements for expensive goods and services. Workers were especially bothered by the prominent role of managers in decisionmaking, and then by the greater rights of specialists in the distribution of public housing and the like. Managers outside of production and other "nonproduction" groups were bothered more by the "idleness" of workers.

Vladimir Goatf attempted to answer the questions: Why is social development not in accord with the official point of view of the LCY, and why has the degree of integration of Yugoslav society decreased? The integration of labor and capital is one of the LCY's most pressing tasks, but in reality, instead

of integration in Yugoslavia, integration in the republics and provinces has become stronger.

Goati immediately dismissed the idea that some other political force had directed social development contrary to the LCY. The LCY is the dominant force in Yugoslav society, and unfavorable occurrences can only be explained in this way--that republic and provincial organizations of the LCY have directed social development without enough attention to the whole. In this way, according to Goati, the principle of the independence of republic and provincial organizations has been implemented to the detriment of unity in the LCY.

Goati asked--and then tried to answer himself--why the LCY, or its leadership, identify with authority in the republics and provinces, which leads to the LCY operating in an unsynchronized manner and to the process of economic disintegration. Goati thinks that the present procedure for choosing LCY officials is to blame for strengthening the power of republic and provincial leaderships. This sociologist from Belgrade sees politicians as people who, as a rule, try to perform their jobs in a satisfactory manner, but who work to keep their position, all the more because the positions carry above-average material advantages, as well as those of rank. In this situation, according to Goati, the party official first of all looks after everything upon which his selection depends, and these are republic and province interests. This becomes especially pronounced when the interests of his republic or province are not in agreement with the interests of the other republics or provinces. In the conclusion of his report, Goati mitigated his sharp criticism of officials saying that it was not his intention to reduce all professional politicians to cold, calculating, self-centered people, and he stressed that there were people of extraordinary moral dignity among them, people ready to defend their intimate beliefs at a minute's notice, to give up the advantages which positions of leadership carry with them. But is it possible to build relationships in an organization based on exceptions, asked Goati?

We do not believe that this sociologist from Belgrade is right when he claims that the selection process is one of the major problems because **much more** attention is paid to republic and province interests than to other interests. There is no selection procedure for leaders which will guarantee essentially different relationships in the federation, as long as the fear exists among republic and provincial officials--the fear among the developed that they are falling behind, and the fear with the underdeveloped that they are becoming even less developed. Many cite precisely this fear--regardless of whether it is objectively based or not--that they do look beyond the boundaries of their own republic or province. Thus this consciousness must be changed, because there is little benefit to be derived from changing the election procedures, as Goati has proposed.

We also consider inaccurate the claim that those politicians who do not have another profession, or who have never worked at the one they have are to blame for the present situation. Their total number in leadership positions is significantly less than the total number of leaders with different titles,

and it is illogical not to distribute the responsibility for republic and provincial obstruction among everyone equally. It would have indeed been interesting if Goati had presented data telling how many persons we have now among officials in Yugoslavia for whom politics is the major profession, or who have never been engaged in the profession for which they are qualified. This would make his claim more believable, and maybe even more justified.

Risto Kilibarda, a sociologist from Titograd, concerned himself with a very interesting question in his written report on the influence of informal groups on the disintegration process in contemporary Yugoslav society. Kilibarda attempted to answer why we fear informal groups if decisions are made by the majority of voters. We fear them because we do not get into direct and open encounters with them. The main reasons for this, according to Kilibarda, are in the good organization of informal groups, and in the lack of organization of the others. Informal groups are usually strongly organized, they are a constant; it is said that they behave monolithically in all cases.

Ljubomir Tadic, former professor of the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, and Svetozar Stojanovic, did not miss their opportunity at this meeting to accuse the LCY for the present situation in society. They see all sorts of evils in the party. During the Round-table Discussion on Opportunities for Social Mobility in Yugoslavia, Ljubomir Tadic said that in all countries where it has come into power, the communist party has annihilated the labor movement. Svetozar Stojanovic was on the same wave-length. Tadic was obviously disappointed by the lack of critical rebuttal and said, among other things, that the role of the intelligentsia and of sociology in our milieu is to speak out clearly and openly, regardless of the risks.

Svetozar Stojanovic was more energetic than his older colleague at the conference in Portoroz. During the plenary discussions he tried to give his view of a way out of our present crisis. In his opinion, the LCY must come face to face with the fact that reform and antireform forces have reached a stalemate. He supported those who have come out for an extraordinary party congress. Stojanovic asserts that a reform of the federation is necessary, but before this, a radical democratization of the LCY is needed, in his opinion. Once again Stojanovic repeated his old idea of the professed need of creating a new "League of Socialists." It would be composed of voluntarily associated individuals and groups which support the construction of democratic socialism in Yugoslavia. When he had described everything that had to be composed, and everything with which the "League of Socialists" would be concerned, many asked themselves whether Stojanovic had read what Edvard Kardelj had written on the role and operation of the Socialist League, or if he had forgotten everything he had read.

Stojanovic's proposals were met by silence--no one had any reaction to them. Indeed, it should be said that no one polemized either with him or with Ljubomir Tadic. When we talked with some of the participants of the meeting during a pause, they told us: What is there, after all, to polemise about concerning these theses, when they have already been refuted long ago?

It is obvious that Stojanovic sees many things wrong with the party leadership, because he literally said that in our system the political elite has the right to make all the decisions and to put all their ideas into practice, as if this theory can in no way be anticipated in advance. The fact is that the political bureaucracy is to blame for many failures. But one should not give scientists a blanket amnesty either. Stojanovic's belief that scholars are much better at solving today's problems is naive. After all, those engaged in science also sit in forums which make decisions. Not so long ago, in one of our republics, two respected university professors occupied two extremely high political positions. All of the help of science did not prevent the economic failures which we are experiencing today.

It was inevitable that there would be a report prepared for the meeting of sociologists in Portoroz by Vojislav Seselj. This time he attempted to solve relationships in Serbia. Actually, the title of his report was much more ambitious: "Ideological Directions and Political Interests of Bureaucracy as Stimulants of the Disintegration Processes in Yugoslav Society." Seselj concluded his report by stating that our constitutional texts were written by extremely uneducated, irresponsible, and unscrupulous people who subjected legal principles to the most banal political manipulation. Should one comment at all on Seselj's "ideas"? One wonders that his text is to be found in an anthology of sociologists' meetings.

Branko Horvat prepared a report about intellectual workers and the LCY. Among other things, Horvat said that conflicts and tensions do not start between intellectual workers and the LCY, but between the workers and the officials or forums of the LCY. And these forums are also filled to a great extent with intellectuals who have been, according to Horvat, most often transformed into professional politicians. That is why it is necessary to study the problems of the relationship between politicians and the intellectual workers. As a consolation, Horvat claims that politicians do not have the best relationships with intellectuals in any country in the world. This is not only because intellectuals organize and carry out revolutions but above all because they do not accept political rhetoric on faith.

It seems as if Horvat has forgotten that the great majority of intellectuals who come into conflict with the leadership in our country have been in politics, or have "jumped" into it from time to time. It is indisputable that many of these conflicts have originated precisely because of these political ambitions.

There were no polemics at the Portoroz meeting. This was a meeting of monologues, limited by time. Only in a few cases were the monologues interrupted by minor semantic "retorts." The only objection worth mentioning is the reaction of Ivan Siber, a professor from Zagreb, to the report of Dragoljub Micunovic, who explained the poor quality and small number of studies of international relationships in his report by the climate of society. Siber said that in our country research concerning international relationships is being stimulated, and he cited several examples. He said that the kind of studies going on in our country and whether or not they are of satisfactory quality depends on the sociologists.

Many conference participants used the term "bureaucracy," which is understandable, but it was obvious that many used it in different ways, and this created a little confusion. Professor Mihajlo Popovic explained the expanded usage of the words bureaucratism and statism by the fact that in this way the leadership is criticized in a generalized manner.

The first day of the conference Dragoljub Micunovic, in the name of the meeting's organizers, evaluated the quality of the reports. He said that there was not enough explanation in the reports on what was keeping us together and what was dividing us, and on what the common interest is in Yugoslavia. After 3 days of discussion, the conference went no farther than the theses prepared in advance, an enumeration of factors which strengthen the integration of Yugoslav society. The composers of the theses think that this could be the historical link of the Yugoslav people, their awareness of the necessity of the Yugoslav community for existence in proclaimed principles, dominantly political and ideological, etc. But besides the general integrative factors, there also exist numerous differences. These differences can be, but need not be, the cause of disintegration processes.

From the executive council to the plenary discussions, young sociologists were called on and urged to come up to the speaker's rostrum on many occasions. But they listened to the main discussions in Portoroz, and on the whole their professors talked, repeating things said long ago. A few from the middle generation came forward. How do we interpret this silence? Are sociology's younger practitioners not yet mature, or is it out of respect that they do not "squabble" with their elders? One thing is certain--the meeting of sociologists in Portoroz demonstrated that sociologists meditate more than they research. This is easier to do, but it's not as useful.

Attack on Seselj

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] With the article "Ideological Directions and Political Interests as Stimulants of Disintegration Processes in Yugoslav Society," which was submitted at a recent meeting of Yugoslav sociologists in Portoroz, the circle of political discussion has virtually closed for Dr Vojislav Seselj. What even yesterday might have seemed to be a concealed thesis and intention is now said openly and unambiguously. Seselj denies the legality of the institutions of the Yugoslav system, has basic objections to the Constitution--from its manner of preparation to its content--and he designates a few constitutional regulations as "whims of some of the most powerful personalities at the head of the bureaucratic apparatus." Here he is thinking of those who were at the head of this "bureaucratic apparatus"--what he will say of the LCY--because "today this is no longer possible." We shall leave it to the reader to fill in the names which still remain blank in Seselj's political crossword puzzle.

Seselj's article, sent to Portoroz, is a whole Noah's Ark of anticommunism as it has appeared during the course of recent years and as articulated by the remarks and attacks of many of his speeches. Speaking, for example, "on the

first ideological and political confrontations at the beginning, 50 years ago,"--and these are the years when the handing over of factories to workers first started--Seselj says that it was carried out by "the subjects of the revolutionary transformation, formed and educated in the traditions of Comintern orthodoxy, while formally separating with Stalinism," and in this way, in the thread of his logic, he tries to present 1948 as an internal reckoning between Stalinists, because during the greatest campaign against Yugoslavia, the greatest military and economic pressure, when the country was going hungry and the vojna krajina guards were killed, none of the chiefs of the satellite parties acted. According to Seselj, in 1948 we denied "our own past" and we did not have a clear vision of the future. The solution of the country's national question continued to be, and the construction of international relations based on the principle of equality was, for Seselj, the "revitalization of national antagonisms which otherwise at one time the revolution had decisively held back and muffled."

According to Seselj, the sovereignty of the republics was "allegedly authentic," and the continuity of Yugoslavia can also be sought and found in the fact that "Yugoslavia as a unified state existed before the consolidating structuring of its federal units." He does not mention with this, however, that these federal units also had some national historical basis, nor does he mention the monarchistic negation of Yugoslav distinctions, expressed through the former division of the country into "bans." Without immediately getting into the detailed question of how Seselj would structure Yugoslavia, it is worth mentioning that his claim that "the republics and provinces were not what voluntarily and independently joined and built the Yugoslav state, but 'its people and nationalities' 'led by the working class and the proletariat vanguard' directly, at a time when the republics and provinces did not exist." The author of the text in question is in no way reconciled to the fact that the republics and provinces rested on the existence of those people and nationalities, on the role of the working class, that the expression and the stated will were of the people, and the nationalities and the working class. Speaking about social contradictions, Seselj claims that those responsible for them were not republics and provinces but, extraordinarily, individual republic and province statist bureaucratic structures. "In this way, equality of peoples amounted to equality of the leadership," claims Seselj, without speaking about how, under conditions of "inequality of the leadership," "equality of peoples" might be realized, but denying the leadership the right to represent the people. The mate in the unclear eye of Seselj is the existence of the provinces, or, at least, of those which were defined by the Constitution. Without holding back the fact that the existence of the Socialized Autonomous Province of Kosovo is cited as one of the reasons for Albanian separatism, Seselj says of counterrevolutionary currents that "they can also be considered to be the result of broader political trends which have been created inviolably in the narrowest political center for quite some time." In his opinion, "results are just being uncovered of the undoubted fact that our constitutional texts were written by extremely uneducated, irresponsible, and unscrupulous people."

On the whole, then, what yesterday was suggested in a roundabout way, is now being expressed in a fully open manner--the leadership is illegal (Seselj probably has lists prepared for a new one), the Constitution is poorly written (Seselj probably has another text to offer), the "political summit" for us was on the wrong path. Certainly Tito and Kardelj do not need to be defended from the imputations of so pretentious a man. Nor need one defend the Constitution from these "amendments." Seselj merely tries the limits of our patience. After this, he will do something even worse.

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YUGOSLAVIA

OPPORTUNISM, CONFORMISM AMONG YOUTH

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 83 pp 21-22

[Article by Natasa Markovic: "They Teach Us To Be Silent"]

[Text] Somebody wittily said: "Morality is what has to be done!" The young people are not born as opportunists; this "character" trait of theirs is the result of social relations in which they are formed as persons. A lot of what is happening around them leads them to a moral split.

This is one of the rare statements that were not contested at the latest session of the Republic Conference of Serbian SSO on the challenging theme: "Why Are we Silent?--Youth and Socialist Morality." This thought might have been best expressed by the 18-year old Sladjana Andjelkovic with these words: "We are neither dumb nor stupid, yet we are silent." "The first words one learns are mommy, daddy and shut up," categorically said Vigor Majic, and added: "We have not been taught to speak. On the contrary, we are systematically taught to be silent--in the family, school, youth organization, League of Communists. To speak, and then to act, means to believe in the appropriateness of speaking and acting."

Srdjan Tomic also tried to answer the question of why young people are opportunists, caught by "numbness" and indifference? "They are silent because entering a dialogue means entering a mine field."

Although these words, at first sight, might express a certain disappointment of the young people, their frustration in the struggle with everyday problems, an escape into passivity which has lately, at the time of social crisis, acquired serious dimensions, as it has been heard at this session, this gathering did not have a defeatist air at all. The response of the young people (more than 400) was large, the topic was challenging, but good advertising also was a contributing factor. Schools and factories were papered over with imaginative posters which said: "Why are we silent?" Invitations to this meeting were no less deadly: "You must not miss it; come and give to the revolution everything you squandered all these years!"

The delegates and their guests, participants at the meeting, offered abundant and often different aspects of conformism, "silentology" and

and opportunism of the young generation. They tried to explain why today's youth, as everybody agreed, are an exceptionally marginalized social group, pushed to the outskirts of social events, whose position is getting steadily worse and leads the young people to resignation and passivity. In the world of the young, everything looks turned upside down: many try to assert themselves by their way of dressing instead of working, instead of sacrifices they choose conformism, and instead of following the ideals of the revolution, they frequently follow the idols of entertainment.

We are dealing here with the marginalization, but also vulgarization of real life, discovering and realizing the wrong things about being a young person. A part of the youth, especially those of high school age, display more and more cynicism and "witty contempt" toward everyday life. This is certainly an expression of protest and rejection of some values and relations--not only of school life--, and some kind of escape from reality. However, young people do not have their own specific morality; they are only a magnified "mirror" of what goes on in society, as all the participants in this meeting agreed.

Pushing away young people in the factory, school, political scene, choosing one's own destiny--as an answer to these problems the young people choose apathy and silence in the public forum, but not behind the scene, among themselves. The fear of retaliation is not seldom the reason for their silence, and even when they say something, the worker's word, as some young workers said, does not cross the factor's gate. Young people often describe the relations at school and work as the "atmosphere of fear" or "nice things packaged in self-management."

The more the young people are pushed back, the greater this fear, Predrag Jereminov said. We must destroy precisely this fear, otherwise we will become a lifeless mass, dough which will be kneaded as anybody wants to.

Researchers have concluded that young people most often have no opportunities; they are unemployed, wait for a job for years and for an apartment for decades. Although young people are too sensitive to the manifestations of protectionism, enrichment outside their regular employment, criminality, and privileged individuals to whom laws are not applied, they are mainly resigned to such phenomena where they live and work.

Vuk Zigic remarked that young people have become "the forgotten future of this society, whose youth is being prolonged beyond its biological limits. The League of Communists and society in this way renounce their own future." Milan Rismanovic wondered whether it is not an enormous injustice that these generations will have to pay debts incurred by the previous ones.

It is as if the SK renounced the youth and became dominated by some kind of immorality and opportunism, Milorad Calic said. What is the morality of those who at the time of a grave economic and social crisis continue their illegal activities--the case of Medenica, Visnjicka Banja. Why is it more difficult to prove immorality the higher the level of the social hierarchy, Agim Secerkovic, a metallurgist from IMT, wondered. Millions of dinars have

already become "small things" in economic crimes, Secerkovic continued. "When billions of dinars are embezzled, the sentence is a few years, and when thousands of workers become unemployed, nobody is responsible for that!"

"The justice and laws never bypass an ordinary worker, while to others, their position guarantees infallibility," Agim Secerkovic added. "Two weeks ago we fired two workers, one of whom was with the enterprise for 22 years, because of the theft of a few screws found in his box, while the other one stole 18 small bulbs."

Elsewhere, people steal billions, and ruin factories and workers.

It was said without reservation at this youth meeting that young people are not a homogeneous generation, and that some of them are very comfortable in their conformism, because "mommy and daddy" give them everything. However, the following reasoning is also widespread among the youth: "Why should I fight when the others are silent; I cannot do anything by myself." Such ideas decimate the youth's power and it is clear who derives an advantage from such an "obedient" and submissive attitude. No wonder then that one could hear at this meeting quite a few angry reproaches to the youth organization. But without a revolutionary youth organization there can be no revolutionary youth on the social scene!

The conformity of the officials of the youth organization is one of the essential reasons why it has not struggled to obtain its "place in the sun." The opportunism of the leaders of Socialist Youth weakens the organization of the young people. The organization is not autonomous, Serbian youth have said; most often it performs the function of transmission which has been imposed on it, but which has been accepted and most frequently very well "played." Instead of fighting for a self-management working class and thus also a youth perspective, the daily political practice of the SSO has been transformed into obedient justification of all the moves of the bureaucratic-management machine.

The youth organization is the last one on the list of subjective forces that unveil various aspects of nonself-management behavior, the abuse of self-management and its turning into its opposite. It seems that a young man, pushed out of the sphere of work and self-management, who has little to lose and little to win, more frequently opts, together with his organization, for a self-management silence. And practice, as this meeting has concluded, stubbornly shows that those who are ordinarily silent climb the ladder of the hierarchy faster.

Silence has become a better proof of loyalty in the bureaucratic world, of self-management commitment and "constructive sociopolitical work" than critical opinion, pronounced loudly and clearly, or the commitment built on it, young people are saying. Retaliation may mean 4 years of separation from the machine and 4 years of cleaning the factory circle.

"We live at a time when we can no longer tolerate what was tolerated until yesterday. No explanations are useful any longer; changes are necessary," Petar Damjanovic, chairman of Serbian SSO, said.

"It is a Yugoslav phenomenon that young people react so calmly to the difficult conditions of their lives. I would call it revolutionary patience," Petar Damjanovic emphasized.

[Insert: "Interrupted Duel"]

In the desire to free its organization from political paralysis and sectarianism toward youth, for the last year the RK SSOS has departed from routine in everyday political life. One of these initiatives is the decision that anybody can attend all their meetings, even those people who can approach the young generation perhaps only in spirit. Thus it is not strange that this meeting was attended by some 20 guests, among whom there were gray-haired people.

Petar Damjanovic had an unpleasant task as the chairman. In order to preserve the "legitimacy of this meeting," as he said, he was forced to interrupt the exciting dialogue between Bogdan Trifunovic, member of the Serbian CK SK Presidium, and Ljubodrag Simonovic, former basketball representative.

The immediate cause of the duel was Trifunovic's statement that Miloje Stevanovic, secretary of the County Committee of SK Lucan, who participate in this youth meeting, offended Yugoslav leaders when he said: "Besides those who are faithful to the revolution and young in heart, there are such people in responsible positions who have sold out the revolution for their privileges and hard currency."

Simonovic quickly reacted to Trifunovic's statement by asking him: "Doesn't the SKJ feel responsible for spreading nationalism among the youth and for the fact that many actions are not completed?" Trifunovic characterized this question of Simonovic's as an attack on the SKJ policy. This provoked a new protest--a question addressed to Trifunovic by young men and women: "Will you be the one who makes the telephone call and demands the removal of the SK Committee secretary in Lucan?" who was otherwise frequently applauded by the young people.

The interrupted duel and the conciliatory speech by Zivan Vasiljevic, member of the SK SSRNJ Presidium, alleviated the rather painful atmosphere toward the end of the conference. Vasiljevic rather poignantly remarked: "We are not used to young people speaking out, to their blunt direct questions, which do not mean that they do not like social institutions." He explained some individuals' nervousness by the fact that "things are not being solved where they should be."